FBIS DAILY REPORT

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GDR AMBASSADOR'S MBFR PRESS STATEMENT

AU261320 East Berlin HORIZONT in German No 21/82 p 5

[Press statement by Andre Wieland, GDR ambassador to the Vienna negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in central Europe, on 13 May 1982 in Vienna]

[Text] The GDR delegation has returned to the negotiating table with the unmistakable assignment of its government, together with our allies, to work perseveringly for the achievement of an agreement on the mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments as well as for the implementation of the accompanying measures. Nothing has occurred in international developments to make our goal superfluous. This goal was accepted by all participants in the negotiations and was laid down in the final communique of the preliminary consultations at the Vienna negotiations on 28 June 1973. On the contrary, we can say that the implementation of this goal in an area with the highest concentration of military potential is more topical and urgent than ever.

The Warsaw Pact member-states have, in all these years of negotiations, devoted great efforts to prevent a further intensification of military confrontation in central Europe. The most eloquent example of the socialist countries' good will in this respect is the unilateral withdrawal of 20,000 soldiers of the Soviet armed forces and of 1,000 tanks and further combat equipment from GDR territory during the 1979-80 period.

Opposite trends, however, exist in the Western part of central Europe. Decisions are being adopted there whose implementation is already being carried out and which represent a growing risk for peace and security. During the intermission between the previous and present round of Vienna negotiations, another eloquent example was set in the aforementioned area: two Western participants in the negotiations -- the United States and the FRG -- signed an agreement which reduces the stipulations of the agreement signed at the Vienna negotiations as regards making central Europe a zone of future reduction of armaments to a mere formality. Instead of reductions, tremendous reinforcements of armed forces and armaments are being planned in that area. The measures adopted in this respect confirm our distrust toward declarations of authoritative politicians in those states, in particular, as regards their professed interest in "promoting the progress of Vienna negotiations."

The socialist countries' readiness to proceed toward practical work on the text of the first reduction agreement serves as a criterion for judging the reliability of such declarations. Only a step of this kind can help to achieve progress in the present stage of negotiations. As to mutual briefing on stands, to the submitting of proposals on questions of detail, to finding solutions of compromise for previously unresolved problems -- we can say that over 8 years of negotiations have truly provided enough time and space to deal with such tasks. The USSR, the GDR, the CSSR and the Polish People's Republic have accomplished constructive preliminary work by supplying their full draft agreement on the first stage of reductions, submitted on 18 February 1982. The essence of this draft agreement was made known to the public as early as during the previous round of negotiations. It was unmistakably pointed out in this connection that this draft agreement represents an assessment and a synthesis of all the experience acquired in the long period of negotiations, and that it sums up all positive achievements obtained thanks to the readiness for compromise demonstrated by the socialist countries. At the same time, however, new methods for the solution of still open questions are being pointed out.

We can justifiably describe the socialist countries' draft agreement as an acceptable and solid basis for the joint compilation of the text of the agreement. Such cooperation would not only create an "illusion of progress" as the Western representatives pretend, but would reflect the political will of the participants in the negotiations to implement the really existing opportunities of progress into practical deeds.

In this respect we must also consider all those arguments and pretexts which the Western partners are using in order to impede progress on the work of the text for the agreement. The "real progress" they mention as regards the debate on the strength of army personnel in central Europe and on the accompanying measures can only consist in finding a mutually acceptable way out of the existing difficulties in the interest of a forthcoming agreement. The Western procedure as regards the question of the number of army personnel even if presented as a "compromise or simplification" is nothing but a method of further adherence to demands and pre-conditions which have stopped any progress for over 8 years. The socialist states, in their draft agreement, draw the only possible conclusion from this situation. They propose a settlement which makes it temporarily possible to exclude the controversial problems without affecting the security of any side whatsoever, and without jeopardizing anyone's stand. As regards the accompanying measures, progress cannot be achieved here either because the West is insisting on its maximalist stands, which are in contradiction to the spirit of negotiations and with the stipulations of the first agreement. The Western side should not try to create the impression that the socialist states are less interested in control measures for the observance of the agreement than the West. The difference in the approach of both sides on this issue is that control and mutual trust measures as proposed by the socialist countries in their draft agreement truly serve these goals.

The socialist countries participating in the Vienna talks are in favor of meaningful negotiations. It is worthwhile to recall at the beginning of this round the spirit which inspired our joint work on the final communique on the preliminary consultations, which was adopted in June 9 years ago. If the two sides had insisted on their starting positions and conditions at that time and if they had failed promptly to agree on a joint text, this important document would not have been adopted within such a short period. This success was undoubtedly the result of the political readiness to achieve positive results in those negotiations.

At the end of the sixth round at the Vienna negotiations the West submitted a proposal which was described as pertaining to procedure by the Western partners themselves. We must state the following in this connection: questions of procedure can easily be resolved if they are aimed at settling the key aspects of a mutual reduction of troops in central Europe, and if they apply to the prompt achievement of a first agreement. If such proposals are not aimed at this goal, then questions of procedure will merely further protract the negotiations or even cause them to be interrupted.

The present, 27th round of Vienna negotiations, which has just opened, once again gives the Western partners an opportunity to achieve a change for the better. We ask them to adopt a businesslike and constructive approach to the draft agreement submitted by the socialist countries.

INDIAN MINISTER RAO MEETS JOURNALISTS 27 MAY

AU271930 Sofia BTA in English 1843 GMT 27 May 82

[Text] Sofia, 27 May (BTA) -- "India has always been for disarmament and peace", said Mr Narasimha Rao, minister of the exterior affairs of India, before journalists today.

"For millenia India [words indistinct] for peace not only in the sense of a struggle against a new war, but in the sense of a struggle for a world harmony. Our position on peace is wider and more all-embracing," added Mr Narasimha Rao.

Mr Rao underlined that along these lines Bulgaria and India have a vast field for cooperation, both on a bilateral (?basis and in) the international forums.

He stressed that India has noted with interest the proposal of Mr Leonid Brezhnev for turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace. "As you know India is one of the countries who makes efforts to promote this idea and carry it through in life," said the Indian foreign minister. "We want no military presence in the Indian Ocean. We are greatly encouraged by the position of the Soviet Union."

Mr Narasimha Rao expressed regret over the fact that the conference on the Indian Ocean, which according to the UN resolution had to be held in 1981, failed to take place. The Indian foreign minister stressed that India persists in her efforts and hopes that the conference will be finally held, in spite of this delay. Dwelling on Bulgaro-Indian relations he pointed out that they are excellent. The two countries are brought increasingly closer together with time and are discovering an increasing number of spheres for cooperation.

The Indian foreign minister assessed his visit to Bulgaria as successful. The contacts between the two countries are maintained and strengthened. "I am very pleased by the visit and hope that our friendship and our contacts will continue in the future," stated he.

REPORTAGE ON THE 14TH KOMSOMOL CONGRESS 27 MAY

Leaders Meet New Officials

AU271718 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 27 May 82

[Text] A meeting of the BCP Central Committee Politburo with the newly elected Dimitrov Komsomol Central Committee was held at the Boyana residence. Those attending the meeting welcomed with prolonged applause Comrades Todor Zhivkov, Aleksandur Lilov, Grisha Filipov, Dobri Dzhurov, Milko Balev, Ognyan Doynov, Pencho Kubadinksi, Petur Mladenov, Petur Tanchev, Stanko Todorov, Todor Bozhinov, Tsola Dragoycheva, Andrey Lukanov, Petur Dyulgerov, Stoyan Karadzhov, Dimitur Stanishev, Georgi Atanasov, Misho Mishev, Vasil Tsanov, and Chudomir Aleksandrov. The foreign youth delegations which attended the 14th Komsomol Congress also attended the meeting.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov again expressed the pleasure of the BCP Politburo and of the Central Committee Secretariat with the success of the congress. He cordially greeted the foreign guests as well. The first party and state leader congratulated the newly elected Komsomol Central Committee and wished it successful work for fulfilling the decisions of the 14th Komsomol Congress. The meeting was held in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

Radio Relays Zhivkov Speech

AU271532 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian from 0825 to 0900 GMT on 27 May carries a live relay from Sofia's Palace of Culture of the fifth and last session of the 14th Congress of the Dimitrov Union of Communist Youth.

The announcer notes that the session is chaired by Andrey (Bonzhulov), secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee [as heard].

Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the BCP Central Committee, chairman of the State Council and delegate to the 14th Komsomol Congress, delivers a 33-minute speech. He begins by praising the "glorious" Bulgarian youth and conveys to them greetings from the BCP Central Committee. He points out the care devoted by the party to Bulgarian youth, adding that the party "listens to the young people's words" and attentively follows their development, since they represent the country's future. He expresses satisfaction with the Komosmol Central Committee report read by First Secretary Stanka Shopova, and praises "the sincerity, criticism and self-criticism with which the report distinguished itself." He continues: "The 14th Komsomol Congress has clearly confirmed that the Dimitrov Union of Communist Youth is a truly powerful, sociopolitical organization, worthy of Bulgarian youth, worthy of our people, worthy of its role as an active assistant to the BCP."

After referring to questions that mostly concern young Bulgarians, noting that "everything that affects our development also affects our youth, Zhivkov turns briefly to the economic tasks of Bulgarian youth, emphasizing the importance of perfecting professional training: "Today the task of professional training for every young boy and girl is becoming one of primary importance. They must master the most recent results of scientific and technological development. When we speak of professional training we also mean an improvement of general educational standards," he says, and adds, "Our educational system, our scientific front, the Komsomol and the party, as well as the family and all our public must concentrate upon this task."

In speaking about the difficulties to be faced in educating the coming generation, Zhivkov says: "I must remark that we are building a developed socialist society under the conditions of an irreconcilable struggle against the enemies of communism. We are under the threat of the aggressive actions of imperialist forces. We are facing their constant attempts to turn back the wheel of history. Through ideological diversions and economic as well as military pressure, the imperialists are trying to stop the development of the socialist countries. They are exacerbating the international situation, intensifying rearmament and threatening world peace.

"The People's Republic of Bulgaria, together with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries, unrelentingly conducts a policy of peace and detente, it devotes tremendous efforts to stopping the arms race, to creating an atmosphere of peace and mutual trust. We fully support Comrade Leonid Brezhnev's proposals submitted to the Soviet trade unions congress and in Tashkent, which is new proof of the firm will of the Soviet Union to struggle for the preservation and consolidation of world peace, and the proposals made in Comrade Brezhnev's speech to the Leninist Komsomol congress.

In this extraordinarily important and decisive period of human history, you, dear young comrades, who are educated in the spirit of patriotism and internationalism, have the historical mission, together with the entire nation and together with the Leninist Komsomol, together with young people in the fraternal socialist countries, with progressive youth throughout the world, to stop the enemies' intentions and to defend peace in the world, as well as to protect the achievements of human progress."

Zhivkov further dwells on Komsomol tasks in education and ideological training. I especially like to draw attention to the noble and important mission of our Komsomol to train the young people in the spirit of Marxist-Leninist world outlook and class consciousness," he adds. "This education is a powerful factor enabling young people correctly to orient themselves under the complicated circumstances of events, as well as to actively determine their positions in life."

Praising the communist ideal and the revolutionary traditions, Zhivkov notes that "ideological work should not be isolated from other forms of activity," and he goes on: "Any separation from ideology and from an ideological interpretation of the problems of economic affairs, politics and culture, would exert a negative effect upon socialist practice." Zhivkov states further: "Our party is not and cannot be indifferent toward weakenesses and shortcomings, toward manifestations of the so-called 'small truth.' They cast an ugly shadow on our socialist daily life, and sow distrust in the souls of people, and of young people in particular.

"It is no secret that among youth today there are manifestations of laziness and idleness, a lack of lasting and meaningful interests, a lack of correct and valuable orientation. This is caused by negative influences coming from outside, from the bourgeois world." Zhivkov adds that the Komsomol alone cannot be held responsible for such cases. All public organizations, and also "we, your mothers and fathers" are responsible for this, he adds.

He appeals to the Komsomol, to the mass media, to the theater and cinema, to literature and to all social factors to struggle against negative manifestations in Bulgarian society. "A frank dialogue must be held with youth, young people must know the truth be prepared for life, so that they will not be disappointed in facing disorder and difficulties, so that they do not resign themselves to them, but fight against them." Zhivkov adds that young people must be frankly informed about existing conditions, they must be told that we have not yet reached our final goal -- communism -- and that many efforts are necessary and many obstacles must be overcome to achieve this goal. The same applies to the living standard and social processes, he adds.

Dealing with the problem of arts and culture, Zhivkov praises the great results obtained by the April plenum policy in this field. "The international prestige of our culture today is unprecedented and there is even talk about a 'golden age' of socialist culture in Bulgaria," he states. The generation which called itself the "April generation" is now active in culture, Zhivkov adds. "The unity and cohesion of all generations of creative artists around the BCP and its April general policy is the most characteristic fact today. This is the situation of our culture today. The period when in the cultural sector we had to fight against sectarianism and dogmatism on the one hand, and against revisionism on the otherhand, has long passed. Are there no single cases? Yes, there are single cases, but there is no dogmatic or revisionist front, our culture is by no means threatened either from the right or from the left," Zhivkov states.

Zhivkov also mentions a lack of high standards in literary and artistic criticism and goes on as follows: "Such critical remarks made at the 12th BCP Congress were well understood by part of the artistic intelligentsia. Unfortunately, after the congress, not all necessary measures were adopted to overcome these essential shortcomings and more works were published which lack sufficient ideological strictness. This applies to the creative artists, as well as to the publishing houses, editorial boards and critical organs. We do not overdramatize these manifestations because the creative process is broad and varied, there are shortcomings, as well as achievements in our arts." He goes on: "There is no censorship in our country, and there is no need for it. At the April plenum of the BCP Central Committee we rejected the methods of gross interference and high handedness in the arts and literature. The party implements its leading role in guiding the artistic and creative process through the leading cadres in those areas." "Today's artists," he continues, "should not forget the appeal addressed to their colleagues at the April plenum which is still valid today: 'More among the people, closer to life!'"

In the final part of his speech Zhivkov dwells on the role of the Komsomol "as a great social force" and recalls the glorious traditions of the past, especially Georgi Dimitrov's legacy and his centennial, closing his speech by exhorting the young delegates to accomplish their duties.

New Officials Listed

AU271551 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 27 May 82

[Text] The 14th Congress of the Dimitrov Komsomol ended a short while ago. The congress elected a Central Committee, which at first plenum -- chaired by Comrade Todor Zhivkov -- unanimously reelected Stanka Shopova as first secretary of the Dimitrov Komsomol Central Committee. Andrey Gunzhalov, Milcho Ivanov, Evgeni Uzunov, Magdalena Yankova, Mikhail Gabrov, Pencho Sirakov and (?Rezban) Chaushev were elected secretaries of the Komsomol Central Committee. Boyanka Strakhilova, Vladimir Zhivkov, Georgi [name indistinct], Ivan Slavkov, Krustyu Ivanov, Oleg Oprev, Pancho Khristov and Stoimen Stoimenov were elected members of the Komosmol Central Committee Bureau. Angel Stefanov, Nedyalka Peeveska, Stoyko Peev, Tosho Nedyalkov and Yanko Rusev were elected candidate members of the Komsomol Central Committee.

At its first plenum the newly elected Central-Auditing Commission of the Dimitrov Komsomol elected Nikolay Kolev chairman of this commission.

SOVIET SCIENTISTS EXPLORE BLACK SEA SHELF

AU271554 Sofia BTA in English 1340 GMT 27 May 82

[Text] Sofia, 27 May (BTA) — Is there oil or other ores and minerals in the Bulgarian Black Sea shelf?

The investigation of the shallow litoral zone covering an area of 1 thousand sq km which are being carried out by the sea researches and oceanography with the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and the Moscow University will bring light on this question.

Several expeditions on a Soviet scientific and research ship have been undertaken so far during which complete geological and geophysical observations have been made. The depth of the sea bottom and of the thermal flow have been measured, seismoaccoustic and hydromagnetic researches have been made and the composition of the substances in the deposition have been studied.

Scientists maintain that they already have at their disposal a precise "photo" of the geological structure of the earth under the sea bottom to a depth from 1000 to 1500 m. The seismic drilling has proved to be very useful for elucidating the process of the formation of a sedimentary cover and the hydromagnetic observation carried out by proton magnetometer helped determine the in-depth cracks in the earth's crust.

The establishment of the links between the processes of the piling of sediments, the latest tectonic movements, the geomorphology of the bottom and the structure of the ancient layers will be of great theoretical and practical importance.

CPCZ'S INDRA ADDRESSES PEOPLE'S PARTY CONGRESS

AU262101 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 25 May 82 p 2

[Speech by Alois Indra, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member, CSSR Federal Assembly chairman and head of the CPCZ Central Committee and CSSR National Front Central Committee delegation to the Third Congress of the Czechoslovak People's Party, held in Prague on 24 May]

[Text] Sisters and brothers, esteemed friends, I thank you for the invitation extended to the CPCZ Central Committee delegation to attend the Third Congress of the Czechoslovak People's Party. We consider it an expression of the mutual trust which characterizes our cooperation, and which is the condition of the success of our common efforts for the prosperity of our socialist fatherland.

Our delegation does not feel competent to appraise your party's Central Committee report -- this is your exclusive right, the right of democratically elected congress delegates. But perhaps you will not take it amiss if I say that we have been greatly captivated by the report and that we agree with all its basic thoughts.

It is useful for you to devote corresponding attention to the national economy, which we rightly call our "main battlefield." It shapes the material-technical base of the socialist society, it is the prerequisite of the republic's economic strength and of the working people's living and cultural standards, and it also predetermines our position in the community of socialist countries, as well as in the international division of labor.

At present the working people's efforts are being concentrated on fulfilling this year's tasks; in many respects these efforts are accompanied by successes even though this does not apply to all plants and to every index. In the next few weeks the enterprises will receive the detailed Seventh 5-Year Plan and the directives for the next year's plan. It can be briefly said that the 5-year plan ensures the main conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress, that means the further advance of our national economy and the maintenance of the achieved living standards. This demands that, starting with 1983, we accelerate the rate of growth in our industrial production and national income, compared with 1981-82, and that we improve external relations, particularly by increasing exports, above all exports of engineering products.

Time and again it was said that these are no simple tasks, that we will be able to master them only by wisely making use of all spiritual and material resources which our society has at its disposal. In fact, it is generally known that external influences are causing us considerable worry. In consequence of an economic and financial crisis, the capitalist market is most unstable; the prices of products of the processing industry, which are being influenced by strong competition and by retarded investment activity, are strikingly lagging behind the growth of raw material prices. All this is enhanced by political and economic discrimination with regard to the socialist countries. All signs indicate that we cannot count on some emphatic improvement; as follows from the capitalist economists' pessimistic estimates, the conditions are rather apt to worsen. We cannot change these facts, we must react to them correspondingly — all the more so since, as was said at the 15th congress, we neither want to, nor will, live on credit.

If we add to the external influences the growing internal demands and our own shortcomings, then it literally becomes the order of the day to intensify production, to cut down production consumption and to improve the quality of products by organizing work more perfectly, by using new techniques and technology, by introducing planned structural changes in industrial production and by developing cooperation with the Soviet Union and other CEMA countries.

It would be an illusion to think that the tasks expressed in this manner can be accomplished at one go, through mere faith in some kind of miraculous saving grace of resolutions and directives, or to think that a "radical turn" would quickly materialize. We have here a complicated and strenuous process; but this does not justify our dawdling in the least. The so-called "center" must accomplish what falls within its competence: It must improve management and planning, push through the adopted concepts and react more flexibly to the needs produced by developments. This also fully applies to the other management levels; and the demand for better work also naturally applies to every working person, to each and every one of us. Deplorably, we still encounter all too often criticism directed at people "above," while one's own home is in disorder. Much must still be accomplished to make the principles of the "set of measures..." influence life more emphatically, to enforce the maximum thrift everywhere, and not to produce technically obsolete goods or goods of poor quality, as well as to enable the economic cost-accounting [khozraschet] to assert itself in all places, including economic norms and the socialist wage policy. Only a principled way of acting, supported by political-educational work, will lead us toward overcoming the ill-famed saying "We have no people," toward eliminating the striking disorder in some of the working places, toward a full utilization of working hours, and toward the just remuneration of those who deserve it. I am not speaking only of industry, transport, the building industry, trade and services, but also of agriculture, which has been given the task of ensuring the needs of the food industry and of supplies to the domestic market. The 5-year plan is setting our agriculture heavy tasks. Deplorably, we cannot exclude the weather influences, but undoubtedly there must exist possibilities for further raising the yields and harvests, as is being proved by outstanding cooperatives and state farms.

It so happens that whenever difficulties start accumulating, there crop up pusillanimous people, people with weak nerves, people who panic easily, the sages who had "known this long ago" and who now have "guaranteed recipes" for overcoming all difficulties -- and self-evidently there are also the parasites who, for some reason, are the illwishers of socialism. But actually, why should we succumb to defeatism and pessimism? The feat accomplished since February 1948 speaks in favor of socialism. The results of the policy pursued by the CPCZ and the National Front and the work of our people are visible literally at every step; they have made it possible to raise the living standards not of some narrow strata, but of the absolute majority of the population. The merits of socialism are testified to even in comparison with the most advanced capitalist countries, in which the working people's life is being made difficult by the economic, financial and moral crisis, in which the ranks of unemployed are being counted in dozens of millions. It is sufficient to follow the speeches of bourgeois politicians to grasp the gloomy picture of the contemporary capitalist world. And the life of ordinary local people is not made easier by advanced technology, or by the seeming glut of consumer goods and foodstuffs caused by the prices.

We will also not be confused by the spiteful sallies of various "advisers" from the other side of the barricade. It is typical for them to call our words about successes "rose-tinted lacquer"; and when we frankly speak about our own shortcomings, this is sufficient for them to claim that "water is seeping into our boots." True, we do not want to curry favor with them. We are exclusively concerned with the opinions of our own people. The main thing for us is to make the workers, farmers and members of this country's intelligentsia grasp and support our policy; to convince them that we know both the problems and the paths to their solution; to let them know that we have every prerequisite for this; to permeate them with the resolve to contribute their minds and the work of their hands to mastering contemporary and future tasks. And in this truly patriotic endeavor, we are counting on the active assistance of the entire National Front, of all social organizations and political parties. Permit me to express the conviction that the members of the Czechoslovak People's Party, too, will honorably pass the test of this endeavor.

Esteemed Friends, Brother Zalman spoke very tellingly of the international situation, which is alarming mankind. Particularly since the end of World War II, imperialism has been refusing to reconcile itself to the idea that it has ceased to be the determining factor in historic developments, that many nations have freed themselves of its bondage and that other nations are reluctant to subordinate themselves to its influence. That is why it is constantly plotting against peace, against the USSR and the socialist countries, against the states that have liberated themselves from the colonialist yoke, as well as against the nations still fighting for their freedom.

Facts prove -- and mankind's memory cannot be swindled forever -- that the goals and basic line of the international policy of imperialism (and above all of the United States) do not change. Only the waves of its aggressiveness are sometimes lower, and at other times higher, reminiscent of high and low tide. They are influenced by the extent to which the individual political groupings are capable of realistic thought, by the level of awareness of public opinion, and by the extent of crisis phenomena in the bourgeois society. But the most serious obstacle to the irresponsible imperialist gambling spirit lies in the Soviet Union's economic and military strength, in the moral-political strength of the Soviet people, in the joint course of the countries of the socialist community and in the resistance of all peace-loving democratic and progressive forces of the world.

The present period in international relations is justly called the most dangerous period since the end of World War II. Obviously, the Reagan administration has succumbed to unrealistic illusions about a "renewal of U.S. greatness and glory." Under cover of such terms, international politics is being invaded by notions about an American "world rule," without the bearers of such notions giving a thought to various similar adepts in history and to the way they ended. The United States is claiming the right to arbitrarily determine the spheres of its "vital interests," even thousands of kilometers from its borders. It would like to prescribe to individual independent states how they should "behave" and what kind of domestic and foreign policy they should pursue. It judges the measure of human rights according to the attitude maintained by the individual regimes toward the United States. That is why it finds best friends in Pinochet, in the El Salvador junta, the South Korean puppet government, the Turkish military dictatorship, and so forth. It is winding at a maniac pace the spiral of feverish armament, and forcing its NATO allies into acts which sharply contradict their state, national and economic interests. But the American governmental circles are manifesting a quite exceptional interest in Europe. And not because they would like to protect their allies against the alleged "Soviet threat," but with the aim of alloting to Europe the fate of becoming a scene of nuclear conflagration. At the same time, the American public is to be deceived by a feigned, nonsensical hope that a nuclear war could in a way be "limited," and would not affect U.S. territory. The danger of this policy lies in the very fact that it is created and advocated in a thermonuclear age, at a time when an unimaginable arsenal of mass destruction weapons has been accumulated, and when their use would mean the end of our planet and mankind's perdition.

The arsonist Washington plans naturally represent only one side of the scales in international relations. The other side contains the wisdom, prudence, but also strength of the Soviet Union. It also contains the policy of Soviet allies and the movement of noaligned countries. The public opinion of peace-loving mankind and, as proved by the latest developments, even by the opinions of the Americans themselves, are also of considerable weight. The persistent and persevering Soviet peace initiative, conveyed particularly by Comrade Brezhnev, cannot and must not remain unheeded.

We are not simplifying the complicated situation, we are not underrating the dangerous nature of the politically most aggressive imperialist circles. But we have not ceased to believe in the good future of the world. We are not succumbing to scepticism. We are deeply convinced of the viability and imperative need of the policy of detente and of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. It is a good thing that recently the American President, too, has been changing the tenor of his speeches.

But of course this is in sharp contrast to the acts of American policy, in which blind anti-communism and anti-Sovietism have so far been prevalent. Obviously, Mr Reagan is growing into the role of "peace-creator" under pressure from world public opinion. His speeches are certainly influenced by the opinions of American allies, by the approaching congressional elections, and certainly also by complications in the U.S. domestic politics and by the economic and social situation in the United States. Simply, even a U.S. president cannot afford to continually ignore the current division of forces and the situation in the world and in his own country.

Of course, mankind's vigilance cannot be blunted by bombastic oratorial gestures and pseudo-peace proposals, which are not accompanied by a constructive approach to negotiations on all burning problems. Surely it is impossible to conduct negotiations while simultaneously increasing the production of the most modern weapons; surely one cannot take seriously the U.S. opinions in Geneva, as long as the technical preparations for deploying medium-range missiles are going full blast. Last week Comrade Brezhnev adopted a clearcut stand on this at the 19th Komsomol Congress, one which can be understood by all honest people. In the spirit of the traditions of the Soviet peace policy he again confirmed the Soviet Union's willingness to negotiate -- of course, with the aim of reaching specific conclusions which would halt feverish armament, reduce the strengths of strategic arms and medium-range missiles, and mark the way toward full disarmament, while maintaining respect for the security of both sides. Such a clearcut stand demands as clearcut an answer; it is impossible to weaken it, or to circumvent it by some scheming or diplomatic "tricks."

This May we will be recalling the 37th anniversary of the victory over Nazi Germany and of the liberation of our country. Our people have learned well from history; they have derived interest from all the experience acquired in class and social struggles, from the Munich betrayal of our former Western allies, as well as from the national liberation fight. The large bourgeoisie has lost the trust invested in it, the era of its rule in Czechoslovakia has ended, the people do not entrust it any more with economic and political power. The deicsion to build a socialist society was also closely bound to the basic change in our foreign policy. We have ensured our state independence, the security of our borders and our peaceful life by our alliance with the Soviet Union; its army had brought us freedom and had decisive merit in the defeat of Nazism. For all of four decades life has been proving that we made a wise choice -- we owe to it our life in peace, the rich experience of socialist construction, the selfless economic aid, the broad gamut of all-round cooperation, and the authority Czechoslovakia enjoys in the international forums.

In full harmony with the innermost interests of our people, Czechoslovak foreign policy acts side by side with our most reliable all -- the USSR. It actively supports USSR's untiring efforts for maintaining and consolidating peace. We are deeply convinced that in the class-divided world, our fatherland is standing on the right side of the barricades, on the side of social progress, democracy and peace. Together with the other socialist allies and the entire peace-loving mankind, we trust that we will push through respect for the most significant human right -- for the right to live in peace. We will spare no effort to save our planet from a thermonuclear disaster, to preserve it for the present and all future generations.

Sisters and Brothers, Czechoslovakia's international prestige and the mastering of the complicated tasks of the current epoch of socialist construction both depend on the moral-political unity of our people, led by the CPCZ. The granite foundation of our unity is the common interest of all honest people in the prosperity of our fatherland, of the country where we were born and in which we are living, of the country with which we are bound by thousands of ties. The political expression of our unity is the National Front, which creates possibilities for the creative implementation of the interests of all classes and strata of our society, and for the development of the specific activities of individual social organizations and political parties.

The CPCZ's leading role is recognized not because it had been "decreed or enforced" (as this is explained by our adversaries), but because its policy expresses the interests of the workers class and the working people, because it serves the people, and because its content is deeply humane.

All resolutions, congress conclusions, as well as the results of the latest Central Committee session prove the attention devoted by the CPCZ to socialist democracy, to its development and perfection. We always proceed here from the generally known basic Lenin idea that there is no socialism without democracy, in the same way that there is no democracy without socialism. We know that we have not yet achieved the summit of perfection; but it is an incontrovertible fact that in our society every honest citizen may participate in the administration of public affairs, in the broadest sense of the word. Everybody who really wants to may fully apply his talents. Talk about the typical sign of democracy being the existence of a political opposition cannot confuse us. Simply, the bourgeois criteria do not apply in a socialist society; to strive to mechanically transpose them there is either a grave error, or something even worse. Actually, whom should an opposition represent in our country, in the class sense (and this is the basic criteria)? Which classes or strata should form its rear? Nobody will make us facilitate the operations of antisocialist groups in our political system; in the benches of our national committees and legislative bodies there is no reason to hold a place for the posthumous ideological children of the large bourgeoisie. We will guard the National Front's unity -- a unity understood not formally, but in the spirit of creative cooperation -- as the apple of our eye.

We are glad to state that your Czechoslovak People's Party, too, is a creative component of the National Front. You are proving this by your meritorious deeds; you profess allegiance to this in the report of your Central Committee; and I trust that this will also be fully confirmed by your third congress. The CPCZ and the entire National Front will welcome it if, in your activities, you will not limit yourselves in the future to merely participating in the realization of their policy, and if you will enhance yet more actively your share in the creation of this policy. You have the opportunity to implement your suggestions very broadly in the social organizations, in the bodies of the National Front, in national committees at all levels and in their commissions, as well as in the Czech National Council and the Federal Assembly. In this connection, permit me to express high appreciation of the work of your deputies in legislative bodies. They are valid members of these bodies, they are the communists' reliable partners with equal rights in the realization of the 16th congress conclusions; they deserve the trust of their voters.

I am glad that your Central Committee has expressed its clearcut stand also with regard to the believing citizens, and particularly with regard to political clericalism. The CPCZ, the National Front, as well as the state bodies highly esteem the believers' participation in our common constructive work, and they guard adherence to the freedom of religious denomination guaranteed by the Constitution. The main criteria in assessing people will always be their civic awareness, the fulfillment of their civic duties; this is also the prerequisite of the full utilization of all civil rights. And this also fully applies to the clergy of all churches who are citizens of this state -- they, too, have the right and opportunity for full patriotic engagement. But in a socialist society there will never be a place for political clericalism, for the abuse of religion for anti-socialist activity, for confusing the minds of honest believer citizens. To use simple, but comprehensible terms: We will always agree on the principle expressed in the well-known saying "give unto God what is God's, and unto Ceasar what is Ceasar's."

Esteemed Friends, our delegation was entrusted with conveying to you -- and through you to all members of the Czechoslovak People's Party -- sincere greetings from the CPCZ Central Committee and the National Front Central Committee, as well as personal greetings from Comrade Gustav Husak. We thank you for the work accomplished. We are convinced that in the National Front we will continue to march hand in hand in the spirit of your congress slogan: "With good work for the peaceful advance of our socialist fatherland."

GRAIN, SUGAR BEET, RAPE SOWING TARGETS NOT MET

AU262054 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 22 May 82 p 1

[Editorial: "In Good Time And Quality"]

[Excerpts] The improved planned management system of the national economy has given the agricultural enterprises a freer hand in deciding how to orient their plant production this year. Though they basically observe the drawn up and approved concepts, at some places the planned areas of cultivation do not correspond to the original plans of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food, nor to the demands of the processing industries. Moreover, the winter crops have had to pass the severe test of great ups and downs in temperature, and even the first weeks of spring did not benefit their prosperous growth and development. As a result, larger then usual areas of some crops have had to be plowed under, especially winter rape. It is true that this shortfall in the area sown with winter crops has been largely offset by the compensatory sowing of spring crops. Nevertheless, there still is a shortfall of 2,700 hectares of rape and the overall area sown with grain crops, too, is somewhat smaller than planned.

Nor are the agricultural enterprises' sowing plans as regards sugar beets, flax and some other staples quite in tune with the original presumptions. It has thus happened that, even though the agricultural enterprises have fulfilled their own spring sowing plans 100 percent or have even slightly exceeded them, the overall area of cultivation of some staples is somewhat lower in the Czech Socialist Republic than would be necessary, according to experts. The difference in sugar beets, for example, is 4,000 hectares. The sugar and flax industry employees are thus greatly concerned whether they will have enough raw material from this year's harvest to satisfy demand on the domestic market and to seize the opportunity to obtain with their products hard currency abroad.

Moreover, the situation in the fields has been made more difficult by the great drought and frost in April, which significantly limited the effectiveness of chemical herbicides. It is all the more important now to systematically destroy the weeds by mechanical means so that they do not deprive sugar beets, potatoes and other crops of valuable nutriment, moisture and a place in the sun. This should not be prevented even by the conservation measures in the fuel economy because savings in the wrong place inevitably yield more harm than good.

KEMPNY MEETS WITH AGRICULTURAL REPRESENTATIVES

LD271926 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 27 May 82

[Text] Josef Kempny, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Czech National Council today received at Prace Znojmo District representatives of the South Moravian region, of the Znojmo District and of the "MIR" local United Agricultural Cooperative. This afternoon a cooperation agreement will be signed between the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and the "MIR" United Agricultural Cooperative which is to contribute toward increasing the intensity and effectiveness of agricultural production by means of preferential implementation of scientific and research knowledge of the Academy of Sciences gained at workplaces.

DAILY URGES BETTER KNOWLEDGE OF SET OF MEASURES

AU271144 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 May 82 p 1

[Editorial: "The Rules of Effectiveness"]

[Excerpts] The almost year and a half of the validity of the sec of measures, which perfected the system of planning and managing our national economy, is a sufficiently long time for assessing the extent to which the new rules are affecting our economic results, and influencing our economic practice.

According to various investigations and visits to plants, as well as talks with workers, medium-level technical-economic staff, and executives on higher management levels, one can gain the impression that the knowledge which everybody should already have acquired in detail is not yet sufficiently manifest everywhere. It may be stated though that the higher the post in the working process, the better the knowledge of details and general lines. But on the other hand there still remains a rather considerable percentage of rank-and-file employees and of superior staff on the lowest management level, who have not acquainted themselves with the set of measures even superficially, and even less in detail, to an extent that would influence them in their work.

The set of measures obviously requires the executives to know it best; but for their efforts to introduce the new methods of thinking and the new approaches to work precisely in the spirit of the new rule to succeed, the rank-and-file staff must be also proficient in it. But it is impossible to call mere acquaintance with the set the necessary level of knowledge. This lies primarily in a grasp of the purpose of the adopted measures, which is decisive for the result of every working activity.

It would be an error to believe that a greater understanding of the new measures can be achieved by some isolated campaign. Such campaigns have proved inefficient already during the 3-year experiment, which preceded the introduction of the set of measures in a number of enterprises. It is necessary to explain the purpose and mission of the improved management and planning system systematically, and to combine this both with the alloting of tasks, and with a running watch on and final appraisal of these tasks. This is the way it should be, this is how it is if the management and organization of work are good; this is the way it is in about 70 percent of workplaces. But is this enough to make us satisfied?

The working people carefully notice how the economic process is running, how intensively its individual factors are utilized, they know what could and should be improved. People notice where there are reserves. Two thirds of them believe that the reserves lie primarily in working morale and in attitude to work, in the utilization of working hours. These are literally noninvestment factors; thus there do not exist any material preventives for their better utilization. But this also shows what is lacking in the efforts for greater efficiency, which is the goal of all adopted measures, and the purpose and mission of the entire set. This also proves where the direct weaknesses and shortcomings in the management and organizational activity lie, where these must distinctly improve.

The leading workers are of the opinion that the reserves exist particularly in modernization and in the introduction of new technology, and also in the ensuring of materials and energy. They know very well that these are limited spheres, where things can only be resolved gradually. They frequently deduce that as long as the possible to achieve better results.

However, it is sufficiently well known that we are constantly investing enormous financial and material means into our national economy.

We are investing the maximum of what our economy can afford. And if it is impossible to invest more, it is necessary to distribute the means, and particularly to use them, with greater attention. But frequently we find that it is exactly in the organizations where workers believe that the resources allotted to them are insufficient, that these resources are not handled economically and prudently enough.

Management activity is not only professional, but primarily political work. And this kind of work, as is well known, cannot do without political-educational activities, without explanations, without convincing people. The about 30 percent of working people who concede that they have so far not acquainted themselves with the mission, purpose and contents of the set of measures with sufficient thoroughness, point to shortcomings in the political-educational activities of leading workers, to the persisting methods of the old way of thinking, when one simply ordered and decreed. Understandably, even now it is impossible to discuss the size of allotted tasks; but it is desirable for people to know why they are doing what they are doing; for them to grasp that it is in their own interests, so that they are stimulated to produce the best possible results.

Therefore it is necessary to reject all and any flirting with the new rules of management and planning; we must consistently demand that they be responsibly implemented.

OFFICIALS WELCOME FOREIGN DIGNITARIES 27 MAY

Husak Receives DPRK Minister

LD271804 Prague CTK in English 1540 GMT 27 May 82

[Text] Prague, 27 May (CTK) -- Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary and President Gustav Husak received here Thursday Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea Ho Tam who is on an official visit here.

While discussing bilateral relations, Gustav Husak and Ho Tam stated that conditions must be systematically created for further expansion of all-round contacts and for cooperation in tune with the programs of socialist construction in both countries. They also discussed some international topics.

Earlier, Ho Tam had talks with Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohusalv Chnoupek. The two ministers aid that the issue of preserving peace and friendly cooperation among nations was of primary importance in the present international relations and pointed out the necessity of constant struggle of all progressive forces against plans of U.S. imperialism and of NATO circles to escalate the arms race.

Minister Chnoupek stressed Czechoslovakia's effort for the preservation and further development of detente, for disarmament and peaceful cooperation.

The Korean minister condemned plans of the United States to integrate the South Korean regime in its global military system, and stressed the need for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Korea for the sake of a peaceful and democratic unification of the country.

Bohusalv Chnoupek later gave a luncheon to honor the people's Korean deputy premier and foreign minister.

In his toast, Minister Chnoupek voiced satisfaction that his talks with Minister Ho Tam had taken place in an atmosphere of friendship, mutual understanding and comradely cooperation, and recalled the people's struggle against imperialist aggression and their successes in the country's post-war reconstruction.

Minister Ho Tam condemned the repressive policy of the Seoul regime. He stressed the necessity of an intensive campaign for peace and independence of nations, and of joint efforts of all progressive forces to avert the threat of war.

Strougal: Tunisian Official

LD261504 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1200 GMT 26 May 82

[Text] Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal received at Hrzan Palace in Prague today Mahmoud Mestiri, secretary of state in the Tunisian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who is visiting Czechoslovakia. During their conversation the two representatives voiced their views on the issues concerning the current international political and economic situation in the world, as well as on the results achieved in the development of relations between Czechoslovakia and Tunisia; they praised the fact that the mutual political, economic, as well as cultural cooperation has many years of tradition and stressed that there are possibilities for its intensification.

Strougal: Norwegian TU Group

LD272152 Prague CTK in English 1912 GMT 27 May 82

[Text] Prague 27 May (CTK) -- Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal received here today an official delegation of the Norwegian Federation of Trade Unions led by its president Tor Halvorsen.

Lubomir Strougal acquainted his guests with the intentions of Czechoslovakia to increase the effectiveness of the national economy and with its effort to contribute to detente in the world. He also stressed that the Czechoslovak Government wants to develop its relations with Norway in a more active way and that there are still other possibilities in cooperation between the two countries, especially in the economic sphere.

Bilak: Venezuelan CP Official

LD271936 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 27 May 82

[Text] Vasil Bilak, Presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, today received Eduardo Gallegos Mancera, Politburo member and secretary of the Venezuelan Communist Party Central Committee who is visiting Czechoslovakia at the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee. The representatives of the two fraternal parties briefed each other on the situations in their countries and the tasks and activities of the two communist parties and discussed some questions of mutual cooperation. They also exchanged views on the current international situation, as well as the activities of the international communist and workers' movement.

HUSAK CONGRATULATES KING HUSAYN OF JORDAN

AU261122 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 May 82 p 1

[Text] Prague, 24 May (CTK) -- CSSR President Gustav Husak sent a congratulatory telegram to King Husayn of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan on the occasion of his country's state holiday.

On the same occasion CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal congratualted Mudar Badran, prime minister of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.

SED OFFICIALS ATTEND BERLIN PEACE RALLY 27 MAY

LD272338 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1729 GMT 27 May 82

[Excerpts] Berlin, 27 May (ADN) -- A moving peace rally of Berlin youth in the Bebelplatz on Thursday evening marked the beginning of the Whitsun meeting of youth 1982 in the GDR. In the heart of the "City of Peace" the 150,000 participants expressed their firm will to stand up with deeds for the strengthening and defense of peace and socialism. They also, thereby, supported the decision of more than 13 million GDR citizens against the NATO missile decision.

At the traditional Berlin venue for demonstrations, the young workers, students, scientists, artists, apprentices and school children expressed their assent to the Soviet Union's new peace proposals and to the "peace appeal to the youth of the world" adopted by the 19th Komsomol Congress.

A cordial welcome was extended by the young people to Konrad Naumann, first secretary of the Berlin SED Bezirk Secretariat and member of SED Central Committee Politburo, Egon Krenz, first secretary of the FDJ Central Council and candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo; Mayor of Berlin Erhard Krack; and other personages, including WFDY representative Henryk Brandt.

The participants in the peace rally unanimously adopted a letter to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State. In it they promise to utilize all their strength for the strengthening and protection of socialism.

With the joint singing of the Internationale, in which representatives of foreign youth organizations as well as students and young workers from friendly countries living in Berlin joined, the impressive peace manifestation at the start of the Whitsun meeting of GDR young people came to an end.

AUTHOR ON PEACE MOVEMENT, DISSOLVING BLOCS

DW271103 Mainz ZDF Television Network in German 1900 GMT 26 May 82

["Excerpts" from reporter Peter van Loyen interview with GDR author Stefan Heym in the Hague -- videotaped]

[Text] [Question] Were you under the impression that the German-German issue was dominating the conference?

[Answer] Naturally there was much talk here about Germany, about both German states and the peace movement in both states. It is simply because Germany, both German states, are located in the middle of Europe and would be the first victims of a European nuclear war. We would be dead and finished in any case.

[Question] Has the word peace not been used too much lately?

[Answer] No, I don't think so. I believe that you cannot talk enough about peace. You must define precisely what this peace should be like and what can be done to make peace prevail, in order to eliminate, remove and disarm these terrible nuclear missiles and nuclear arms deployed everywhere and threatening all of us.

[Question] How should that take place? The big powers would have to sit down at one table, but they don't want to.

[Answer] Both big powers say that they want to sit down at one table. Mr Lattmann has said this morning that he does not believe in negotiations because negotiations have never produced anything. I do not share this opinion. There must be negotiations. The big powers as well as the others must speak to each other somehow. But it must be a new kind of negotiations, negotiations where the people look over the shoulders of those negotiating.

[Question] What was the most important suggestion you have heard at this conference?

[Answer] The sensation of the conference was the proposal of the Soviet representative to dissolve the two big blocs, the Warsaw Pact and NATO. Since a Soviet delegation is something different than a delegation of say the Federal Republic or Denmark, there is something official to the Soviet proposal. I would say that this suggestion must be taken seriously and pursued. There is some hope!

MEXICAN FOREIGN MINISTER MEETS WITH LEADERS

Received by Honecker

LD271726 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1151 GMT 27 May 82

[Text] Berlin, 27 May (ADN) -- Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, today received Mexican Foreign Minister Jorge Castenada at the Council of State building in Berlin. The Mexican guest delivered the personal greetings of Mexican President Jose Lopez Portillo, which were warmly reciprocated by Erich Honecker.

During the conversation Erick Honecker emphasized that bilateral relations of friendship and mutually-advantageous cooperation have their solid basis in the fundamental agreement between the interests of the GDR and Mexico in the crucial questions of our time, particularly the preservation of peace. Peace is the most important precondition for the realization of the SED policy directed toward the good of the people; however, the imperialist confrontation course and the arms drive policy is seriously threatening peace.

Erich Honecker and Jorge Castenada affirmed that the most urgent international task consists of stopping the arms race and agreeing on steps toward reducing nuclear arms and other weapons of mass destruction.

Minister Castenada spoke about questions of Mexico's development and about his country's position on fundamental international questions. He also discussed Mexican initiatives toward disarmament and detente and above all for a peaceful solution of the conflict situation in Central America and the Caribbean.

Both sides agreed that Erich Honecker's visit to Mexico in September 1981 had stimulated bilateral relations in many ways. The two sides expressed their satisfaction with the constantly growing cooperation between the GDR and Mexico and spoke in favor of setting new and higher goals.

Erich Honecker and Jorge Castenada agreed that the continuation of the dialogue between the GDR and the United Mexican States is an important contribution to the relaxation of the international climate.

Oskar Fischer, member of the SED Central Committee and GDR minister for foreign affairs; Heinz Eichler, secretary of the Council of State; and Mexican Ambassador Dr Ricardo Guerra participated in the talks which took place in a cordial atmosphere.

Meets With Stoph

LD271146 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1026 GMT 27 May 82

[Text] Berlin, 27 May (ADN) -- The chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, Willi Stoph, today received Mexican Foreign Minister Jorge Castaneda.

During this discussion, which took place in a friendly atmosphere, the two sides noted with satisfaction that cooperation between the GDR and Mexico had grown consistently and is continuing to develop to the mutual advantage of both sides. Willi Stoph briefed the Mexican guest on the GDR's further development and explained the tested policy of the unity of economic and social policy which, backed by the creative force of the people, is being continued. He drew attention to the GDR's striving to proceed with socialist development under peaceful international conditions.

STOPH, HAGER RECEIVE FRENCH EDUCATION MINISTER

LD272344 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1646 GMT 27 May 82

[Text] Berlin, 27 May (ADN) -- Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, today received French Education Minister Alain Savary, who is currently visiting the GDR.

During the friendly talk both sides expressed their satisfaction with the positive development in bilateral relations in the various fields of social life. They stressed that recent bilateral agreements presented a stable basis for cooperation in science, culture and education. Both sides agreed that the constructive dialogue and the further deepening of bilateral relations is of great significance for the reduction of international tension and the securing of peace.

GDR Education Minister Margot Honecker and French Ambassador Maurice Deshors took part in the meeting. Kurt Hager, chairman of the Education Committee of the People's Chamber of the GDR and member of the State Council, also received Minister Savary for talks. He briefed the French guest on the activities of the committee toward the realization of a unified socialist educational system in the GDR. Thus the committee recently dealt with experiences in training specialists. At present working groups are active in universities and colleges researching questions on the education and training of students.

Kurt Hager stressed that the relations between the GDR and France are of great significance in securing peace and in the process of detente in Europe. The partners in the talks praised the good development of bilateral relations between the GDR and France in the fields of education, science, art and culture.

SCHUERER MEETS WITH MOZAMBIQUE PARTY OFFICIAL

LD271918 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1638 GMT 27 May 82

[Text] Berlin, 27 May (ADN) -- At a friendly meeting on Thursday in Berlin, Gerhard Schuerer, deputy premier and chairman of the GDR State Planning Commission, and Marcelino dos Santos, member of the Permanent Political Committee of the Mozambique Liberation Front Central Committee of the People's Republic of Mozambique and Central Committee secretary for economic affairs, discussed the further development of economic relations.

During the talks both politicians praised the results achieved so far. With the protocol on the coordination of important tasks in the economic plans of the GDR and Mozambique for 1981-85 and the program for longer-term economic cooperation up to 1990, stable conditions for the further development of economic relations had been created.

Marcelino dos Santos expressed thanks for the active support of the GDR in the struggle for the political and economic independence of his country which has gained special significance in face of the clear aggressive acts of the South African racist regime as well as of the efforts of the imperialist states to disturb and hinder the socialist path of Mozambique's development.

NATIONAL COUNCIL DELEGATION IN SYRIA, LEBANON

AU262047 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 25 May 82 p 2

[ADN report: "National Council Delegation Visiting Damascus"]

[Text] Damascus (ADN) -- On Monday in Damascus Werner Kirchhoff, vice president of the National Council of the GDR National Front, met for a friendly exchange of views with Muhammad Haydar, member of the National Command of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party and head of the Office for International Relations.

Coming from Lebanon, the delegation of the National Council of the GDR National Front had arrived in Damascus for a visit of several days to Syria.

Earlier in Beirut the National Council delegation had a friendly meeting with Munir Abu Fadil, vice president of the National Assembly of the Republic of Lebanon. The participants in the discussion underscored the peace-promoting role of cooperation between the parliamentarians of states, and stressed the wish to deepen relations between the GDR People's Chamber and the Lebanese National Assembly. Munir Abu Fadel valued the GDR support for the Lebanese people.

HONECKER GREETS ARGENTINE PRESIDENT GALTIERI

AU271833 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 May 82 p 2

[ND report: "Greetings to Argentina on National Day"]

[Text] Berlin (ND) -- Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR State Council, has conveyed congratulations on National Day to Lt Gen Leopoldo Galtieri, president of the Republic of Argentina. "I am certain that the relations between the GDR and the Republic of Argentina will further successfully develop in keeping with the spirit and content of the UN Charter for mutual benefit," the telegram reads in part.

HONECKER GREETS PCI'S BERLINGUER ON BIRTHDAY

AU262051 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 25 May 82 p 1

[ND report: "Cordial SED Congratulations To Enrico Berlinguer: Erich Honecker Sent Greetings Telegram on 60th Birthday"]

[Text] Berlin (ND) -- Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, has conveyed the following congratulatory telegram to Enrico Berlinguer, secretary general of the Italian Communist Party:

Distinguished Comrade Enrico Berlinguer:

I convey to you cordial congratulations and greetings on your 60th birthday.

I would like to avail myslef of this opportunity to reaffirm the traditional solidaristic affinity of the SED with the struggle of the Italian communists to secure peace, to defend and expand the working people's democratic rights and for social progress.

Our great common responsibility today consists in uniting all our efforts to foil the imperialist confrontation course, and to achieve arms limitation and disarmament as a guarantee in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

I wish you best health, personal wellbeing and creative vigor in your responsible function.

AXEN ADDRESSES PARTY ACTIVISTS IN COTTBUS

LD272156 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1721 GMT 27 May 82

[Text] Cottbus, 27 May (ADN) -- The recent constructive peace proposals of the USSR smooth the path to preventing a new round of nuclear arming in Europe and the world, said SED Politburo member Hermann Axen this evening to party activists in Cottbus.

Axen proved that the transition of U.S. imperialism and NATO is the course of confrontation and an accelerated arms drive is an expression of the enormous escalation of the fundamental contradiction of this age -- the contradiction between socialism and imperialism and the escalation of all internal and external contradictions of the capitalist system. The most aggressive circles of North American capitalism are clearly striving for military superiority and a hegemonistic position in the world. This presents a considerable danger to world peace and undermines international security and stability, stressed Axen.

At the same time the strength of socialism is steadily growing. This is the most important precondition for setting limits on the warmongers who want to turn back history and inflict a serious defeat on the confrontation course, Axen emphasized.

The worldwide peace movement contributes significally to increasing the pressure of the peoples for serious and successful negotiations in the field of arms limitation and disarmament. NATO policies continue to be measured by deeds and not by demogogic declarations of peace which are too obviously aimed at splitting and weakening the powerful antiwar movement.

The escalation of international developments demand a high degree of alertness and a quicker strengthening of socialism, Axen emphasized. He explained in detail how the resolutions of the 10th SED Congress contributed to the comprehensive strengthening of the GDR and the active peace policy of the socialist German workers and peasants' states for success on behalf of peace and socialism.

BRIEFS

NEW MARK-ZLOTY CONVERSION RATE -- Berlin, 27 May (ADN) -- On the basis of a corresponding agreement, a new currency conversion rate between the GDR mark and the zloty will come into effect on 1 June 1982 for noncommercial payments. According to the press office of the GDR Council of Ministers chairman, the rate will be M1.00 to Z1.35. The new conversion rate also applies to the purchase of travelers' means of payment. [Text] [East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0200 GMT 27 May 82 LD]

MINISTERS DISCUSS WALESA, ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE

Urban Comments

LD271520 Warsaw PAP in English 1400 GMT 27 May 82

[By Leszek Kubiak]

[Excerpt] Warsaw, 27 May (PAP) — The chairman of the Polish Government Planning Commission, Vice-Premier Zbigniew Madej today briefed foreign correspondents accredited to Warsaw on Poland's current economic problems, internal situation, debt to the West and the government's action plan to take this country out of the crisis. The news conference was opened by the government press spokesman, Minister Jerzy Urban who took that opportunity to reply to the questions which had been earlier sent to him and were not directly related to the subject of the conference.

At the outset the spokesman deplored the frictions that had occurred between some foreign press correspondents and the Polish authorities and declared: "In our press there appear polemics with foreign-penned articles about Poland. The Polish press has the right to polemics. Our press disagrees with many foreign opinions. This is substantively justified. Your working conditions is another matter. There is martial law in Poland. By asking to be accredited you gave your consent to certain inconveniences and therefore your grudge is unjustified. For many years not a single foreign correspondent has been asked to leave this country despite the fact that we are in possession of a catalogue of lies that you have been sending out of Poland.

"We are living through hard times. The government is in the struggle to normalize life in this country. There is no wonder that we do react to instances of exacerbating this situation. We do not find, in what you write, any recognition for the authorities' good will to extricate the country out of the crisis.

"The present situation in Poland is the most difficult for the government to solve in more than 200 years. The Polish Government found as shocking the tenor of the speech against Poland made by the U.S. vice-president during his meeting with students in Boston."

Next the government spokesman stated that the current number of the internees accounted for 38 per cent of the total number of people interned at the start of martial law. He also admitted that four persons in the Bialoleka prison are refusing meals. The daily diet of the internees amounts to 3,200 calories and it is supplemented with food from parcels. He put the number of arrested martial law transgressors at over a dozen hundred.

Mr. Urban said that the appearance of illegal leaflets in Poland was observably shrinking. What used to be about 300 leaflets a day has now dropped to between 50 and 60.

The spokesman went on to say that Lech Walesa had been recently moved, but he declined to reveal his present whereabouts. However, he denied when asked if Walesa was staying in the Olsztyn Voivodship. "He can receive (?visits or even) foreigners. His wife and children have spent with him a total of 21 days in six visits so far. He also has visits by priests," said Minister Urban.

Referring to the term "deportation from Poland" the Polish spokesman said that this term had been exploited for malicious and insolent interpretations. "It is not the Polish Government's intention to get rid of its own citizens. Who wants may go abroad to wait out martial law. The passports that we issue are valid for three years. Thirty-five of the internees have received them. All in all 80 persons, including family members, have been issued passports so far."

"None has left Pland so far. 'Deportation' or 'emigration' are wrong words. Anyone may return or exchange his passport for a consular one. We are not expelling anybody," declared J. Urgan.

The government spokesman denied the [word indistinct] of lists being kept of those who had been discharged from their jobs either on disciplinary grounds or for any other reasons.

After Mr. Urban's enunciations the floor was taken by Vice-Premier Zbigniew Madej.

Madej Economic Remarks

LD271924 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 27 May 82

[Text] Poland's current economic situation was the subject of a news conference which took place today at the press center of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Deputy Premier Zbigniew Madej, chairman of the Polish Government Planning Commission, and Government Press Spokesman Jerzy Urban participated in the news conference.

Evaluating the country's economic situation, Deputy Premier Zbigniew Madej emphasized that one can see a systematic improvement in many branches of industry. One can particularly see an improvement in the mining industry. Phenomena which show a certain livening up of the economy in the countryside are becoming more visible. Relative stabilization is also evident on the food market.

If during the previous months the fundamental problem was to stop the deepening regression, Zbigniew Madej said, then at present the most important point is to maintain these positive tendencies which have been noticed. A difficult situation still remains in many factories of the processing industry. This difficulty is connected with the drastic drop in imports of raw and other materials from the capitalist countries. One of the more important tasks thus becomes the increase of exports.

It is estimated that the 1982 value of exports to the capitalist countries will amount to $5.5-6.0 billion. We should repay about $10 billion of our debts. In this connection the Polish Government is proposing to start talks about refinancing our obligations. It is our intention, the deputy premier said, not to announce that Poland is insolvent. This would be risky behavior. We want to talk calmly and sensibly while defending our interests at the same time. Zbigniew Madej presented his view on the problem of Polish coal exports. We will strive to develop our coal exports, he said, and we will defend our traditional markets. Competitive struggles are a normal phenomenon; however, it is worse when politicians get involved. When this happens it should be regarded as an attempt at political intervention.

During the conference a question was asked concerning the situation on the grain market. Explaining this problem, Deputy Premier Madej informed the journalists that at present because of the curtailment in grain imports which we bought on credits, we have almost 1 million tons less grain than in the middle of last summer. We will have enough grain for the production of flour and bread, but we have to consider the possibility of reducing deliveries for stock breeding.

Answering a question on what the Polish Government is expecting from a summit of the western industrial countries in Versailles, Zbigniew Madej said: We would like to have among Western politicians more levelheadedness in the way they look at the Polish situation. We hope they will return to the trade links with our country which have existed for many years.

SOLIDARITY OFFICIAL DENIES PLAN TO JOIN ZSL

LD262222 Warsaw PAP in English 2005 GMT 26 May 82

[Text] Warsaw, 26 May (PAP) -- Jan Kulaj -- the chairman of the (?suspended) farmers' Solidarity union today denied the rumours that he was going to take a post in the United Peasants' Party authorities [as received] and came up for unity and uniformity of the private farmers trade union movement, once trade unions are brought back to action.

"The interest of all farmers is common and I believe that from the saddening experience of the past they will draw the conclusions for the future and will not let themselves get divided."

But he stressed in an interview for the evening daily EXPRESS WIECZORNY that the unity of the farmers' trade union movement could not come through an exclusive action from above, but had to be built at grassroots level.

"The trade union movement in the countryside sprang from the will of the peasants, was spontaneous and authentic and hence it must rest on a program which they themselves [word indistinct]. The formula for a trade union movement in the countryside cannot be invented at an office desk."

He added "I do not think there is a need to introduce some new trade union model in the countryside," and said further that out of the few farmers' unions existing in Poland actually only the private farmers' Solidarity had a concrete action programme owing to its signing the Rzeszow-Ustrzyki accords."

Mr Kulaj also stressed the need for cooperation of the farmers' trade union with other organizations [words indistinct] indispensable for rebuilding Polish agriculture.

SWEDISH GROUP REVEALS ANTI-SOLIDARITY DIRECTIVE

NC251710 Paris AFP in English 1656 GMT 25 May 82

[Text] Malmo, Sweden, 25 May (AFP) -- A handwritten Polish Government directive to local military officials on the creation of new unions to replace the suspended trade union Solidarity was released here today by the Solidarity support committee of southern Sweden. According to the committee, the note demonstrates the attempts of the Warsaw government to destroy Solidarity without having to formally dismantle it.

The note, which included measures for obliging detainees to leave Poland before September 1982, and sanctions against people who would not join the new unions, reached Sweden through the committee's "contacts at all levels of Polish society", the committee said.

Signed by the Polish Commission for Labor Union Questions, the note told local military officials that the following would be taking place:

-- the Supreme Court will decide before September 1982 on Solidarity's right to exist,

— official creation of new labor unions,

-- measures to force detainees and their families to leave Polish territory before September 1982,

-- division between the population and the church through propaganda,

-- sanctions against people who will not join the new unions, such as layoffs or denial of promotions, forced registration with the police or detainment by police for 48 hours,

-- industrial products will only be obtainable with coupons distributed at places of work by the new unions,

-- priority for housing given to members of the new unions.

DAILY MARKS CARDINAL WYSZYNSKI DEATH ANNIVERSARY

LD280858 Warsaw PAP in English 0805 GMT 28 May 82

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 28 May (PAP) -- In connection with the first anniversary of the death of the previous Primate of Poland Stefan Wyszynski, ZYCIE WARSZAWY published extracts from his quotations supplemented with a commentary. The daily said, inter alia:

"True national greatness arises from the synthesis of various virtues, and this is what had taken place in the primate's personality."

"He managed to work out a wise and conscientious approach to the Polish present-day situation invariably subordinated to the one and only criterion: co-responsibility for the fate of the country and its inhabitants. The primate did not change viewpoints, but he would change evaluations. Therefore he was neither a dogmatic, in the lay meaning of the word, nor an opportunist," said ZYCIE WARSZAWY.

OBODOWSKI CHAIRS ECONOMIC COMMITTEE SESSION

LD272056 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 27 May 82

[Text] Under the chairmanship of Deputy Premier Janusz Obodowski the Council of Ministers Economic Committee held a session today. A preliminary review was made of the draft assumptions regarding the development of housing construction along with the amendments of certain principles in housing policy, presented by the minister of administration, local economy and environmental protection. During the discussion of the draft it was stressed that the aim of the development of construction and of the housing policy in the 1980s is to create and to adapt to the existing socioeconomic situation in Poland the most just conditions possible for satisfying the housing needs of the population. The state will support the development of all forms of construction. Out of concern that houses should be accessible to people financial aid will be given to families with low incomes. During the session it was recognized as particularly urgent that work be concluded on the program to increase the production of construction materials, on which the development of housing construction depends.

Following this the Council of Ministers Economic Committee made a decision on the conditions for the functioning and development of the copper industry. It has become an important source of [word indistinct] hard currency for our country. It is envisaged that in the coming years its production will continue to grow. The development of the copper industry should take place in accordance with the principles of self-financing.

As the next point on the agenda the Economic Committee discussed in detail specific means of improving the situation with regard to the supply of shoes to the market. It is a matter of shoes for adults in particular. The production of such shoes is not part of an operational program. A decision was made which assured an increase in supply to the market of 6 million pairs of shoes.

DOMESTIC TRADE MINISTRY OFFICIAL ON RATIONING

LD272252 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 27 May 82

[Interview with (Andrzef Bors), director general of the Ministry of Domestic Trade and Services, by Anna Andrzejewska, date and place not given; recorded]

[Text] [Question] Director, grim news, grim rumors are going around that the coupon ration for meat is going to be lowered.

[Answer] It is true that the rumor has a grim character. Where does it come from? Well, the balance of the rumor which was presented many times indicated that meat procurement has significantly dropped with respect to previous forecasts. The current meat rations are not (?large) rations. It is known that they are smaller rations than last year. The procurement of meat is going absolutely correctly and in view of this we do not see any basis for instituting any kind of reductions or decrease in the rations, and not only with respect to meat but to all other foodstuffs which are subject to rationing. There is already a clear government decision that (?starting) in the third quarter the rations for meat and meat products cannot be reduced in any case. [as heard]

[Question] But the year consists of four quarters, director. What will happen in the fourth quarter?

[Answer] This year, even in the fourth quarter, there should be no reduction in any rationed foodstuffs. We think that stocks which exist now, as well as perspectives in the area of procurement, permit a forecast of this kind.

[Question] Is it not possible to raise the ration of butter? It is enormously small.

[Answer] This is what we want: to give more butter, that is, such is the general tendency, to give cottage cheese with fat and to give sufficient cream. From what we are aware of at the Ministry of Domestic Trade, milk (?has been) procured more or less at last year's level. This year the import of butter which last year was gigantic -- about 70,000 tons -- will be quite minimal. I cannot see any possibility of raising the coupon butter rations because the quantity is definitely limited and the balance of fats in the dairy industry does not allow us to go above this 17,500 tons of butter per month which is designated for the market. But with complete certainty, with economical management, there will be possibilities of creating certain reserves of butter, especially in the third quarter.

[Question] How true is it that beginning 1 June deliveries of fats, and any kind of meat, even in the form of products, are to be cancelled for enterprise canteens and snack bars? This also concerns butter.

[Answer] There is no truth in that. We are trying to save butter in mass catering and this means exactly these snack bars, canteens and so on. Because we have a good situation where animal fats are concerned, butter should not be added at any price and to everything so that it simply can be saved. Where catering facilities allow it, other fats should be used in general. There are no such decisions or such intentions to lower the allocations of all the goods which you have spoken about, that is, meat and fats for snack bars, canteens, and all forms of mass catering.

[Question] What chances, and in what areas, are there of departing from rationing, a subject about which one can also hear more and more loudly?

[Answer] Yes, we will be striving to depart gradually from rationing. The basic matter, the basic condition here is a defined commodity balance, defined stocks. What, specifically? For some time now we have been accumulating stocks of cigarettes and periodically we will be increasing the supplies of imported cigarettes to the market. There are no definite decisions on this matter yet but we may be able to achieve this year such a level of stocks as would enable us to give us cigarette rationing.

Another matter is the problem of alcohol. Also here certain stocks are growing. I would not like to (?be) a prophet (?here) but we may succeed even this year in departing to some degree from alcohol rationing.

All kinds of grain products are a very important problem. Stocks in trade at the moment are correct but there is in general the problem of the grain balance. These matters are being investigated and perhaps in some kinds of grain products, also this year, it will be possible to achieve (?a percentage).

[Question] I thought, director, that before alcohol you will say something about candies. (?how much of a stock of candies are there)? Is there a chance of departing from these coupons.

[Answer] I am very sorry but no. First, all kinds of chocolate products production, as a result of reduced purchases of cocoa beans, has dropped to the level of 1/3. The production of boiled sweets is staying at a good level. We are investigating possibilities in the fourth quarter. To a large extent this will depend on the course of the sugar campaign which until now, as our information goes, gives us grounds for positive, very positive hopes.

[Question] Thank you for the talk, director.

[Answer] Not at all.

PAP REPORTS STATE AUTHORITIES' 'ACHIEVEMENTS'

PM250823 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 11 May 82 p 3

[PAP report: "After 5 Months -- Review of State Authorities' Decisions and Achievements During the Martial Law Period"]

[Text] The proclamation of martial law was a dramatic but necessary decision which still is and will probably long remain a cause of perplexity among many Poles. But even though it is certainly difficult to come to terms with the curtailment of civil liberties and even though certain circles have been paralyzed by a feeling of frustration, it is necessary to seek to assess the situation realistically. In addition to primary arguments relating to the existence of the nation and the state, the most important matter in such an assessment is to give an answer to the following question: Has martial law put an end to expectations and desires aroused at the time of the "Polish August" and has it wrecked the cause of reform?

An objective analysis of concrete facts and of the decisions made during the 5 months which have elapsed since the proclamation of martial law has confirmed the fact that this cause has not only not been abandoned but that, on the contrary, the introduction of martial law has made it possible to continue -- even though this may seem to be a paradox -- processes of democratic transformations and that the rigors of martial law have created prospects for propelling forward many reforms whose form has been outlined during those stormy 12 months or so. And even though it will take a long time yet to stabilize life in the country, preconditions have arisen for quite peaceful work and rational discussion, and an end has been put to anarchy and demagoguery which made any action impossible. Despite the fact that the solution of many problems has been rendered difficult by a lack of complete stabilization of the political situation and by still very difficult and complex economic conditions, the achievements of the past 5 months -- for instance, in the judicial sphere with respect to legal, constitutional and social matters -- as well as consistency in the implementation of the economic reform -- all this has confirmed the fact that the program of the Ninth PZPR Congress, which has met social expectations and the challenges of our times halfway, is the main guideline of the authorities' policy. This also means that even though the social agreements of August and September 1980 have in part been suspended, they will gradually be implemented. In any case, this has repeatedly been restated.

And here is a selection of the most important facts and positive manifestations whose recalling should serve as a basis for any assessment of 5 months of martial law and the authorities' further intentions.

Twenty-Six Laws

Exceptionally intensive legislative work has been done in the Sejm in recent months. Twenty-six laws -- including nine connected with the economic reform, four with the agricultural sector and four with the scientific, educational and cultural spheres -- have been adopted this year. Sejm commissions are now working on the drafts of 19 further laws. The pace of this work is fast. The government has kept to its legislative program published in November 1981, which consists of nearly 50 draft laws relating to the functioning of the economy, organs of state administration, social matters, administration of justice, internal affairs, education, science and culture. In addition, some draft laws initiated by deputies themselves are being submitted to the marshal of the Sejm.

Upholding the Constitution

An important aspect of the Sejm's legislative activities has been connected with reform of the legal and constitutional system. It has been decided to alter the fundamental law and create a Constitutional Tribunal and a State Tribunal. A detailed law has been adopted with respect to the latter tribunal which is to pronounce on the responsibility of people holding the highest state posts for any violation of the Constitution and laws.

As for the Constitutional Tribunal, it is to pronounce on the conformity of laws and other normative acts of the main and central organs with the Constitution. Work on a detailed law concerning it is in progress. The creation of both tribunals also constitutes an important change in the legal system from the viewpoint of exacting responsibility from the highest representatives of state authorities. It constitues an implementation of both the community's and political parties' demands.

Preparations are in progress for the appointment of the first members of the Polish People's Republic Sejm Socioeconomic Council. The resolution adopted by the Sejm more than a month ago on setting up this council -- as an advisory and consultative body -- is of great importance. The extension of the sphere of social and economic consultations is the leitmotive of the work done by the Sejm.

While putting our legal system in order, attention has been paid to such future laws as the law dealing with the creation of legislation and the law concerning the Council of Ministers which clearly determines the government's duties, as well as legal acts relating to the organs of the Administration of Justice and legal protection, that is, the Supreme Court, the Prosecutor General's Office, the bar, general courts and legal advisers. The drafts of some of these laws have already been submitted to the Sejm or, to be more precise, are being discussed by members of its commissions, whereas only some initial work is being done in connection with the remaining laws.

The nine laws which have created a legal basis for the economic reform have been of great importance for the economy and, consequently, for the community's standard of living in the future. These laws adapt planning and management methods to the development of production capabilities and should become a barrier to the phenomenon of voluntarism which was so widespread during former years and which became one of the main causes of the crisis. It should be emphasized that deputies have made a very considerable contribution to the economic reform and its legal aspect.

Some important laws concerning rural areas have been adopted. They relate to the protection of agricultural land and forests, consolidation of land, amendments to the civil code, the repeal of the law on settling the question of farm ownership and amendments to the civil legal procedure code. They have fulfilled many of the postulates put forward by farmers who demanded that the permanence of peasant ownership be recognized, that easy terms for sale and purchase of land be ensured and that agricultural self-managing organizations be granted extensive rights in that sphere.

The law relating to the "teacher's charter" has been one of the laws adopted by the Sejm since January 1982. As a result, matters which had preyed on the minds of eduational workers not only during many previous months but also long before have been legally settled. This law relates to various aspects of teacher's work, rights and duties and, at the same time, brings some considerable positive changes in the social sphere and living conditions. Let us also mention that the Sejm has decided to start work soon on a new law relating to the national education system.

Some other circles -- miners and dockers, for instance -- have benefited from an extension of social rights which has been the result of amendments to laws relating to the miners' and their families' retirement pensions, awards and decorations, retirement pensions for workers and their families in general and the creation of the honorary title of "meritorious...clocker of the Polish People's Republic."

Prospects for Culture

A few days ago the Sejm adopted two laws relating to the cultural sphere. The first law -- which concerns the National Cultural Council and the Cultural Development Fund -- provides for the creation of a National Cultural Council and determines its powers as the government's consultative and advisory body. This represents an important step forward in the sphere of socialization of the process of the management of matters concerning the state's cultural policy. As for the fund, its aim is to ensure stable resources for financing broadly understood cultural needs of the community. The second law, which relates to the office of the minister of culture and art, emphasizes, among other things, the demand put forward by cultural workers and creative artists for cooperation between the minister and social representatives of creative circles, sociocultural associations and social organizations

Furthermore, the Sejm has recently adopted a law on higher education which has enhanced the standing and normalized the position of higher education by granting it a status which means that its right to self-management has been recognized. Its self-managing nature has been emphasized by granting the main scientific and higher education council the status of the highest elective representative body of academic circles.

New Form of Self-Management

The resumption of work concerning laws on trade unions and agricultural self-management will be of considerable importance. The Sejm expects that the State Council will submit to it a draft law on national councils [rady narodowe] and regional self-management. The objective of the draft law on cooperatives and their associations is, among other things, to strengthen legal guarantees of cooperatives' self-management and independence.

The Sejm's support for a gradual implementation of worker self-management -- one of the fundamental prerequisites for the implementation of the economic reform and democratization of our life -- has played a significant role.

Let us mention a few of the remaining draft laws which have recently been submitted to the Sejm. The draft law introducing amendments to the law relating to the work of artisans and their organization is aimed at creating better, more permanent and more independent conditions for their activities as well as at increasing the number of artisans in connection with the changes which have taken place in the employment structure of the national economy. The draft law providing for amendments to the law governing premises includes a rule which is to prevent more effectively the occupation of several homes by a single family. The draft law relating to the principles which are to govern the economic activities of small enterprises under the management of foreign physical persons and corporate bodies provides for the creation of a stable basis for the activities of foreign -- mainly Polonian [expatriate Polish] -- enterprises which help to supply the market with goods whose production in Poland has been hindered.

Against Symptoms of Social Pathology

Three draft laws are to make it possible to actively oppose some symptoms of social pathology. One of them -- relating to the fight against alcoholism -- provides for restrictions on sales of alcohol and for a slightly different structure of its consumption. It rules that consumption of alcohol in places of work is to be treated as an offense and introduces changes in the system governing cures for alcoholism. The second of these draft laws, which relates to proceedings concerning juveniles, is mainly aimed at protecting children and young people from democratization and delinquency. And the third draft law, which relates to people shirking work, provides for the creation of a system for influencing people shirking work which would make it more difficult for them to make a living from illegal sources or sources inconsistent with the principles of social coexistence.

The draft law relating to state administration officials which, among other things, determines their rights and duties in a way conducive to the strengthening of the protection of citizens' rights and the state's interests is to help to improve the functioning of state administration.

A draft law submitted by a deputy relating to special rights for former combatants -- in short, the combatant's charter -- which concerns an already relatively small number of people is of special moral significance. It is an expression of the appreciation of their services in the past and of the role which they are still playing as well as of an understanding of their vital needs. The solutions proposed in this draft law are in line with the country's present economic situation.

During the recent months the Sejm has been engaged not only in legislative work but also in supervision work and it will continue to pursue these activities with renewed vigor. The Sejm commissions have been discussing many problems, including problems relating to people's daily difficulties. For instance, they have been assessing the results of steps aimed at improving city transport.

Some important and complex programs will be discussed by the Sejm during the coming months. Special attention is to be paid to programs relating to the construction of homes, health protection, young people, agriculture and the food economy.

Protecting the Weakest

Despite very difficult economic conditions and a budget deficit, the state has continued to pursue an active social policy whose main objective is the protection of economically weakest groups of the population from the consequences of the crisis. Work on legal acts which will help to develop and modernize the Polish social security service and labor law has not been suspended.

On 1 January 1982 the second stage of the reform of family benefits provided for in social agreements and initiated a year earlier came into force. The reform, which is to be fully implemented by the beginning of 1983, provides for an increase in assistance for families in an especially difficult material situation and for equal rights for sociovocational groups with respect to benefits and their size. During the second stage of the reform some 2.8 million families of workers with monthly incomes not exceeding Z3,500 per capita have benefitted from the increases in question. At the same time, monthly benefits for children in need of special protection have been increased across the board to Z1,000. Supplements to retirement pensions and pensions received by category one disabled people as well as people over 80 have also been increased to Z1,000.

Furthermore, since the beginning of the year minimum wages have been increased to Z3,000 per month. Nearly 700,000 workers and students have benefitted from that increase.

As we know, the size of educational grants has kept in step with steadily increasing minimum wages. In this connection those grants have also been increased as from January. Whenever monthly family income does not exceed Z2,400 per capita, educational grants have been increased to Z2,800 per month. Following a decision adopted by the Council of Ministers, the period over which such benefits are granted has been extended from 18 months to 24 months and, in the case of mothers bringing up more than one child, to 36 months.

Increase Shock Absorbers

On 1 February an indispensable but extremely difficult "price-compensations" operation began. Following public consultation, out of various variants of compensation for food, fuel and energy price increases, a variant was chosen which is designed to protect the interests of low-income families most effectively. For instance, in order to mitigate the rise in the cost of living caused by these increases, compensation in the form of a 3-month advance was immediately paid to old people, retired people and pensioners. Advance was immediately paid to old people, retired people and pensioners. The grand total of compensation paid out by the social security agency during the first quarter amounts to nearly Z53 billion.

According to initial calculations, average incomes in the households of retired people and pensioners have increased some 36 percent, but even so the majority of retired people obviously live under extremely difficult conditions. Family benefits together with compensations have increased sixfold. Payments of "bonus wages" in the first quarter have also acted as price shock absorbers. At the same time, following a decision adopted by the Council of Ministers, the right to enterprise fund rewards has been extended to everybody. For the first time this year a considerable number of groups, including educational and upbringing workers, scientific and research institutes, banks, administration, and the Administration of Justice have taken advantage of this.

Problem of Old Portfolios

At the same time, however, since the beginning of the year the prices of other foods and industrial products as well as services have begun to rise sharply. According to some preliminary estimates, in February 1982 the cost of living increased more than twofold compared with February 1981.

Consequently, the introduction of a permanent system of compensation for this increase in the cost of living, in particular for those people whose living conditions are especially difficult, is becoming a matter of increasing urgency. Therefore various variants of the compensations system have recently been submitted to the government. The determination of a so-called basket of consumer goods which are essential during a crisis period, especially when the market is unstable and prices rise sharply, is the most important problem in this sphere. A preliminary list of goods and services has already been prepared and its value is now being assessed by the Main Statistical Office.

Retired people and pensioners, who spent some 50 percent of their income on food, have been most severely affected by the increase in the cost of living. Neither successive increases in minimum benefits (the latest increase took place in November 1981) nor even the recent compensations have resolved the essential problem of maintaining the real value of retirement and other pensions, narrowing the gap between benefits paid, whose size merely depends on the date when they were awarded, and preventing once and for all the creation of "old portfolios" [stare portfele]. These objectives have been taken into consideration in the plan for a pension scheme reform whose principles were discussed by the Council of Ministers during its recent session. The government ordered that work on the new law relating to the insurance and pension scheme for workers and their families be speeded up with a view to ensuring that this reform could be implemented as from 1 January 1983.

The draft state budget for the current year was discussed during the same meeting. It is worth mentioning just one figure in this connection -- state contributions to the social security fund are to increase more than fourfold, that is, to Z346 billion despite the deficit.

Improved Labor Law

Despite the fact that trade unions have been suspended, the question of bringing the labor code up to date has not been overlooked. The purpose of the new labor law is to expand certain social rights -- by extending maternity leave, for instance -- and introduce certain positive changes with respect to working hours, rest leave and guaranteed wages for workers transferred from one job to another as a result of either some accident at work or vocational illness. It is expected that a thus modified labor code will come into force at the beginning of next year. At the same time, work is being continued with respect to a new and uniform judicial system for dealing with labor disputes.

The concept of the principles which are to govern remuneration as well as the concept of collective labor agreements are being considered within the framework of amendments to labor law from the viewpoint of the changes brought about as a result of the economic reform. This will create a basis for a wage reform which is to come into force on 1 January 1983. Generally speaking, it is to take the form of a transformation of the internal structure of remunerations and is to lead to an increase in the basic part of wages. The demand that work on the reform, which is to make it possible to increase the incentive element in wages, be speeded up has been general. But before that reform is implemented it will be necessary to immediately determine new principles of remuneration making it possible to increase the wages of highly trained workers as well as people engaged in heavy or especially complex work. A draft Council of Ministers resolution relating to this matter has already been prepared and should soon be published.

It is worth recalling in passing that all undertakings relating to wages resulting from social agreements have in principle been implemented even though some sectors have still to be dealt with and even though, generally speaking, it remains necessary to narrow the existing gap between remuneration in the production and nonproduction sectors. The wage element, which in the end caused the collapse of the market, as well as demands for new increases, branch "cards" and privileges -- all this must now be brought under control. The planned wage reform, which is to be based on the principle that a connection must be established between the level of remunerations and the results of workers' and enterprises' work as well as on the restoration of the essential role of market laws, represents the only possible solution which is both economically sound and advantageous to the community.

Safer Working Conditions

As far as workers' safety is concerned, the aim of the main decisions made during the recent period has been to improve the situation of the victims of accidents or harmful working conditions. The Council of Ministers order of 30 December 1981 has extended the list of jobs included in category one of employment whose members may be allowed to retire early and be granted higher disability pensions. The new list applies to some 2 million workers. The decision to double the amount of one-only compensation relating to accidents at work and vocational sickness has also been an important decision.

Decisions have also been adopted with respect to certain social problems with a view to mitigating the consequences of economic decline and price increases. The Council of Ministers has allowed enterprises to increase grants to their social funds in order to cover any increase in the cost of vacations for children and young people. In view of the very high cost of holidays at present, it has been decided that the state will defray a considerable proportion of the cost of sending some 100,000 retired people and pensioners on vacation. Furthermore, the state will contribute financially the cost of preventive and therapeutic vacations for some 75,000 people.

Social Policy Program

However, the problems connected with the social consequences of the crisis and the reform require long-term and planned action and, especially, call for the determination of priorities with respect to social needs. In particular, the current trend toward a decrease in the collective consumption fund -- an alarming phenomenon under our structural conditions -- must be checked. For instance, in 1981 that fund shrank by some 8 percent compared with 1978 whereas individual consumption increased 4 percent during the period in question. This problem was discussed at a recent meeting of the Council of Ministers Sociopolitical Committee. It was decided that it is essential to prepare in the course of the year a social policy program which would make it possible to establish mechanisms for collective consumption and social security consistent with the principles of the economic reform.

Obviously, however, neither individual nor collective consumption will increase unless we check the economic decline and unless the reform is consistently implemented.

Associations are being liquidated in accordance with a resolution adopted even prior to the introduction of martial law, with the exception of militarized associations.

Indispensable Operation

A booklet containing proposals for an increase in the prices of food, fuel and energy as well as for compensation connected with this increase was published in January. In previous years all increases were shrouded in complete secrecy. We used to learn about them a few days before their introduction at the very earliest and even then as a result of so-called leaks. The public discussion which was announced as soon as the proposals were published was not a bogus one. This became obvious in the second half of January when, after considering the conclusions drawn from that discussion, the Council of Ministers Economic Committee reduced fuel and energy price increases and introduced changes into the compensation scheme.

New retail prices came into force 1 February. The extent of the increases was influenced by the fact that food prices had remained unchanged for many years. However, prices must reflect real production costs. In its open letter to the community, the economic committee states that prices lower than costs are bound to lead to empty shelves in stores and speculation. This does not mean that higher prices are bound automatically to lead to full shelves. Adequately high production is also needed. So the price reform has removed only one obstacle on the path to a market balance. It has done away with most disproportions between prices and costs. And, furthermore, it has checked the scale of the so-called inflation overhang and let us remember that in January Zl billion not backed by available goods daily found its way into the citizens' pockets.

The creeping increase in the prices of industrial products, which has mainly been a result of changes in supply prices, has been less spectacular, however, in some cases dishonest and over estimated calculations have been made. Those matters are supervised by a specially appointed price control agency, among others. The prices of a larger than originally expected number of goods and services have been officially determined and are subject to control. On the consumers federation's initiative a social price commission has been set up.

The Central Antiprofiteering Commission and its regional equivalents have been active. In a situation where most essential goods are in short supply the fight against profiteering -- especially profiteering likely to harm poorer families -- has become one of the authorities' primary tasks. Profiteering is obviously a phenomenon of an economic nature and it can be eliminated effectively only by economic means. It can be dealt with most effectively by filling store shelves but this is impossible in a crisis situation. So the only available weapons -- intensified control and repression -- had to be used.

The three "S" formula has remained of topical interest in the economic sphere. The authorities have emphasized their desire to see self-management gradually restored in enterprises. In order to show that their assurances have been genuine self-management at the Swarzedz furniture plants has been reactivated as a first step in this direction.

More Coal

According to communiques issued by the Main Statistical Office, difficulties connected with inadequate supplies for production purposes, especially raw materials and imported semi-finished goods, are still with us and, in some cases, have become even worse. However, all communiques have invariably included information about effective work in the mining industry. Coal production has been much higher than in 1981 and it must be remembered that in our situation coal is of essential importance since it greatly affects our economic performance. For instance, during the first quarter of the current year the miners produced 47.4 million tons of coal, that is, 6.2 million tons more than last year, despite difficulties with respect to the supply of materials and technical assistance. Some 6 million tons, that is, 4 million more than during a similar period in 1981, of the coal produced has been exported. This increase has been a result, among other things, of increased extraction on Saturdays as well as of improved labor discipline and a reduction in the number of breakdowns in installations. The power industry has benefited from this increase in production. Since 28 January no restrictions have been imposed on power supply for either the population or industry.

Toward Self-Sufficiency in Food

Food has become the market's main problem. The payment situation and the restrictions imposed by the United States and some of its partners have made it difficult and even impossible for us to import grain and fodder. In 1981 crops were good but the amount of grain sold to state purchasing centers was small. So a grain loan has been floated and outstanding supplies of coal for farmers are being delivered. A considerable number of industrial enterprises have started producing agricultural tools, machinery and equipment. Since 1 February the prices of grain purchased by the state have again been increased. Obviously not all the needs of the farmers can be met at present, but no efforts are being spared to ensure that farms are equipped as well as possible and that working conditions in rural areas approximate to those of city workers. In the speech he made at the ZSL Supreme Committee plenum on 31 March the PZPR Central Committee first secretary defined a strategic target for our agriculture. What is aimed at is self-sufficiency in food. He also emphasized the permanence of the principles now governing our agricultural policy and our evenhanded treatment of all sectors of agriculture.

As from 1 January 1982, the foreign exchange zloty disappeared from the Polish National Bank's tables of exchange rates. From that time exchange rates have been quoted in negotiable zlotys [zlote obiegowe]. The introduction of that reform and the standarization of exchange rates were prerequisites for introducing correct calculations with respect to the costs and profitability of foreign trade.

In the future this will make the choice of the most profitable export specializations possible and undoubtedly rationalize imports. It is a question of the future because for generally known reasons we have been forced to sell our products abroad even when according to our calculations this is hardly profitable. The introduction of so-called foreign exchange deductions has represented a form of aid to checking experts.

In accordance with the announcement made by the premier during his January speech, the Council of Ministers determined and, what is significant, published on 5 February a program for the government's activities in the economic sphere, among others. Deputy premiers and ministers have been charged with the responsibility for the correct and timely implementation of the tasks thus set.

On 26 February the Sejm adopted laws providing for legal guarantees for the economic reform. The methods of administration and management of the national economy did not change as our potential increased. Obviously no change of model can be implemented once and for all. It must be a continuous process over a longer period of time. What is most important, however, is to take the first step and that step has already been taken.

Tightening Bonds of Cooperation

Led by Gen W. Jaruzelski, party and state delegations from our country have visited Moscow, Berlin, Prague and Budapest. As a result, among other things, the bonds of economic cooperation will be tightened. A development of direct cooperation among enterprises has been announced. Our CEMA partners in general and the Soviet Union in particular are to entrust us, among other things, with service processing of their semifinished products and raw materials. This will enable us to utilize some of the surplus production potential of Polish industry and will mitigate our supply difficulties. The possibility of completing by joint effort certain projects which have been left unfinished because of lack of resources has also been considered.

On 24 September 1981 Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski suggested the setting up of a consultative and advisory state body. At the beginning of April this suggestion came to fruition in the form of the Economic Consultative Council chaired by Prof Czeslaw Bobrowkski. The council will keep the public informed about its activities and its members will express their view independently and will in no way be bound by the opinion of any offices or organizations. So this advice system is fundamentally different from the system applied during the previous decade, for instance.

We Must Take Difficulties Into Consideration

At the end of April the eighth PZPR Central Committee plenum took place. It was devoted completely to economic matters. Our objective during the coming 12 months or so is to definitely check our economy's decline, achieve progress in certain specific sectors and protect the categories of the population which are economically weakest. The main statistical office has announced that some small signs of improvement can already be observed. The rate of production decline has slowed down and exports have increased. Any overoptimism, however, would be premature. As the Central Committee first secretary stated at the end of the eighth plenum's deliberations, the country's economic situation has remained extremely difficult. In addition, it is necessary to take into consideration the fact that many as yet not quite discernible difficulties may arise. We must be prepared for this economically, organizationally and, above all, mentally.

The Reform Above All

On 11 December 1981 newspapers reported that the first reading of draft laws determining the legal basis of the economic reform would take place in 10 days' time. Two days later the Council of State introduced martial law in the country and the Military Council for National Salvation was set up. One of the objectives of that decision was the protection of the economy which was being plunged into an increasingly severe crisis with every passing month. Since the summer of 1980 the economic crisis had been a subject of daily private and public discussions.

However, only few men in the street realized its extent and its possible consequences. As Gen W. Jaruzelski stated in his 13 December speech, the economy had unfortunately been turned into a political battlefield. This was one of the causes of the worsening crisis -- the national income fell 13 percent in 1981, coal production decreased, wages increased without any corresponding increase in productivity and, as a result, inflation spiraled upward increasingly rapidly.

It was generally believed that a wise reform conducive to a release of intiatives, which would eliminate ineffective methods of management and strictly ensure that economic laws are observed and dilettantism is curbed would provide an opportunity for the economy and restore its health. We were promised on 13 December that all reforms, including the economic reform, would be continued.

Understandably, the existing critical political and economic situation did not facilitate the introduction of the reform. However, on 18 December, the Government Presidium decided to gradually implement those of its elements which did not clash with martial law. An instruction was issued that activities aimed at introducing new supply prices, reformed principles of taxation with respect to enterprises and other elements of the financial system be accelerated. Without alterations in supply prices it would have been impossible to prepare any correct calculations and economic accounts. The principle of enterprises' self-financing and independence would have been undermined.

On 22 December, that is, only 1 day later than planned before martial law was introduced, the Sejm commissions completed the so-called first reading of the fundamental draft laws on which the economic reform was to be based. It was emphasized at the same time that the content of those documents, which were prepared prior to 13 December, remained unaltered. And the government added that it deemed them open-ended in the sense that they should be subjected to a critical in-depth analysis and, if necessary, amended and corrected.

Just before the new year a Council of Ministers resolution relating to the functioning of the economy under martial law was published. Its aim was to adapt the principles governing the economy to what, are unusual circumstances and, at the same time, to introduce new economic mechanisms into economic practice on as large a scale as possible. The resolution was a very clear confirmation of the desire for reform. It can be stated without fear of exaggeration that it has revolutionized our economic system. It has granted enterprises some very extensive prerogatives, allowing them to independently establish plans and determine the levels of wages and remunerations as well as the way in which any financial profits are to be shared. At the same time, a list of so-called operational programs was drawn up whose aim was to ensure a minimum amount of semifinished products and raw materials for the sectors of production which are the most important from a social and economic viewpoint. It was mainly a question of food, clothes and fuel as well as foreign exchange. One of those programs mentions aid for exporters.

DAILY REPORTS POZNAN CRISIS STUDY SESSION

AU261209 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 May 82 p 2

[Zenon Skuza report: "The Origin and Nature of the Crises and the Ways of Overcoming Them"]

[Text] On 21 and 22 May, an academic conference focusing on the sociopolitical crises in People's Poland took place. It was organized by the Adam Mickiewicz University PZPR Committee, the Institute of Basic Marxist-Leninist Problems and the Poznan PZPR Voivodship Committee.

The idea of holding a conference on this subject met with a lively response in Poznan plants and factories. Academics from Poznan and other centers of learning in Poland, representatives of enterprises, party aktivists and veterans of the workers movement took part in it.

During the first day, Hieronim Kubiak, Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee secretary, took part. He acquainted the participants in the conference with the aims and work of the commission for explaining the origins, course and effects of the crises in the history of the Polish People's Republic, which we wrote about in the previous issue of TRYBUNA LUDU.

The Poznan conference, one of a series of academic sessions of this kind organized by academic circles, is a real contribution on the part of the Poznan academic community to explain the origins and birth processes of the socioeconomic crises in Poland and to create the right mechanisms to protect development processes against similar jolts in the future.

The conference was interdisciplinary in nature. Representatives of various academic disciplines took part: economists, historians, sociologists, lawyers, philosophers and political scientists. Because it was interdisciplinary, there was a chance for people with many difference points of view to face each other, and thereby the chance to reveal the exceptional complexity of the Polish crises, their origins and course, and their political, economic and social consequences.

The basis for renewed discussion was formed by the reports of Prof A. Czubinski, Prof S. Dziamski, Prof H. Kubiak, Prof J. Topolski, Prof J. Wiatr, Prof St. Wykretowicz, Dr K. Oryl, Dr J. Cegla and Dr J. Tittenbraun.

Almost all the speakers (and 21 persons spoke during the talks) examined the origins of the Poznan events and later crises during the years 1948-9, which is a very recent period in our history. This is when a sectarian-dogmatic wing became dominant in the party; when both the party and people's authority began to depart from the line worked out in Poland and later called by publicists the Polish road to socialism (this was connected with Wladyslaw Gomulka and occurred after the party's rightwing nationalistic deviation had been overcome); when, after the rejection of this road, a mistaken variant of economic development (speeded-up industrialization) was adopted, unsuited to the realities of our life; when the collectivization of rural areas began to be hastily implemented; and when the party, placing its belief in Joseph Stalin's mistaken thesis about the intensification of the class struggle together with the strengthening of socialism, ceased to defend the interests of the workers class.

The arms race which has been forced on the socialist countries has made it necessary to revise economic plans, switch over production to other things and so on. This tangle of internal and external factors is the real reason why the polish economy collapsed and was the basic source of the crisis.

Accepting the thesis of the economists, the sociologists, political scientists and historians pointed out that an accumulation of mistakes in the economic, political and social spheres occurred after 1948, but the basic reason why the crisis developed has to be looked for in the political sphere. The economic sphere acted merely as a detonator.

To find a main reason for the crisis' development, the above-mentioned specialists examined the process whereby the authorities became alienated and the party and people's authority departed from the principles of our system and broke the dialogue with the workers class.

They emerged with the fact that both in 1948 and in later years, the party leadership did not give due attention to the role of science in the life of the community and the role of experts in development processes. The role of science and experts was reduced to a purely decorative function. The decrease in the role science played was the result of unsatisfactory political imagination by the party leadership and the government. The specialists pointed out that the social sciences, including Marxism, suffered from underdevelopment.

They stressed that whenever the interests of the workers class are left out, regardless of the development stage of the creative forces and the state of knowledge, there will always be mistakes and degeneration occurring both in the political and the economic spheres: there must be.

Many speakers said that the party's, or more precisely the party leadership's, departure from the October line was the direct cause of the 1970 crisis. The party leadership at that time did not make the most of the chance brought about by the democratization of the party and of life, the change in the model by which the party exerts a leadership role in the state and by economic reform. Taking into account the state of the creative forces and the state of the Polish community's knowledge, this chance was essential. The departure from the October line halted the process whereby production resources were coming under state control.

They pointed out that following these negative phenomena, the foundation of people's authority was violated: the alliance between the workers and the peasants. Above all, a Polish road to socialism incorporating all the features of socialist construction was not worked out.

It was further said that as a rule, the workers class had to bear the effects and burdens of further crises despite the additional experience gained. It was pointed out that during postcrises periods, suitable conditions for so-called enterprise units were being created, which in practice resulted in a fundamental principle of our system being overlooked -- social justice. A just distribution of the national income, a just wage policy and the state's correct use of the social consumption fund were and will continue to be the basic criteria behind any appraisal of the party's and the people's authorities' social policy.

The issue was raised that an inability to work with young people also had an unfavorable influence on the development processes, as a result of which this inability became an explosive factor. Inadequate cooperation between the PZPR and its fraternal political parties was also indicated. The policy toward the church was also not always right.

Many less important facts connected with the situation in the region were also stressed in the reports and in the talks. Seeing these facts presented enables one to understand better the real meaning of the workers protest in Poznan in 1956 and the mechanisms of later crises, for, as almost every speaker said, the Poznan events are an integral part of the Polish crises.

The conference has fulfilled its task, Prof A. Czubinski said at the end. It has been yet another opportunity to reflect on our destiny and on the future of socialism in Poland. It has also made it possible for everyone wanting to take part in revealing the sources of the evil and in working out the ways to eliminate the crisis phenomena in our lives to speak out. The conference has shown that the deformations and degeneration, as well as the crises, are not immanent characteristics of socialism. As Prof Topolski said, it has been yet another form of consultation with academic and workers milieus on complex problems.

REPORTAGE ON PZPR LEADERSHIP ACTIVITIES

Olszowski at Bydgoszcz 26 May

LD262200 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 26 May 82

[Bydgoszcz correspondent dispatch]

[Text] Today Stefan Olszowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, paid a working visit to Bydgoszcz. In the morning he visited the work force of the oldest enterprise of the Polish railroad, the rolling stock repair works. Comrade Olszowski visited the factory's departments.

Subsequently, in the rolling stock repair works' House of Culture a working meeting took place between Stefan Olszowski and representatives of the departmental party organizations, and the political aktiv of the city and voivodship. This meeting was attended by Henryk Bednarski, first secretary of the Bydgoszcz Voivodship PZPR Committee, and the Bydgoszcz Voivoda Bogdan Krolewski.

Numerous questions were asked during the lively discussion which was not devoid of polemical overtones in relation to the Central Committee secretary. They concerned intraparty relations, the future of the Polish trade union movement, the principles and procedure for setting up the Sejm Tribunal of State, and matters of everyday life such as market supply, wages control, standardization of rationing principles; in brief, the whole complex of matters connected with the economic reform.

Much attention was also paid to problems within the works, including political and economic problems.

Replying to question asked in the discussion, Comrade Olszowski stated that it is necessary to continue the search for the best concept for the rebirth of the trade union movement in Poland. An important role in emerging from the crisis is fulfilled today by the committees of national rebirth which, as the Central Committee secretary stated, ought to cooperate more closely with the cells of the front of national unity. The attention of party members ought also to be concentrated to a considerable extent on actions aimed at a more rapid and ample supply to the market with food items and, in particular, consumer goods whose supply today is extremely unsatisfactory.

In the afternoon Comrade Stefan Olszowski visited the Bydgoszcz printing house of the Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch [RSW] Workers' Publishing Cooperative, which has been under construction for several years. It is worth adding that this building, which is being continued despite the drastic investment restrictions, is of enormous significance for all the press in northern Poland.

The 35th anniversary of the Workers' Publishing Cooperative, which is celebrated this year, was also the occasion today for decorating merited long-term RSW employees from Bydgoszcz, Torun and Wloclawek Voivodships. This ceremony was also attended by Stefan Olszowski, member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee, at the end of his stay in Bydgoszcz.

Milewski Views Martial Law

LD262212 Warsaw PAP in English 2000 GMT 26 May 82

[Text] Warsaw, 26 May (PAP) -- Member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the PUWP Central Committee, Miroslaw Milewski, today met in Piotrkow Trybunlski representatives of the local militia, the prosecutor's office and the courts. The meeting evaluated the current situation in the country and, in this context, discussed tasks and problems facing the administration of justice and the law enforcement forces.

Miroslaw Milewski focussed his attention on conclusions following from the six months during which martial law has been in force in Poland. He said that the authorities at all levels consistently exacted the fulfillment of duties ensuing from martial law restrictions but they wanted it be understood that they acted according to the principle: He who is not against us is with us.

Milewski drew attention to the maturity of the socialist society as a result of which the events which occured early in May did not take a different course.

The speaker also said that every case which evoked the society's attention was scrutinized by appropriate authorities. He said that the rigours of martial law affected all citizens without exception. The easing of the rigours and ultimate lifting of martial law is the objective of all actions of the authorities. He added that at the same time all manifestations of profiteering will be ruthlessly stamped out.

Barcikowski on Renewal, Reform

LD272128 Warsaw PAP in English 2008 GMT 27 May 82

[Text] Warsaw, 27 May (PAP) -- At a meeting today with lecturers of the PUWP CC Kazimierz Barckikowski, PUWP CC Political Bureau member and CC secretary, said that the process of renewal in Poland manifests itself in profound reforms of many areas of social life and the implementation of the economic reform in particular.

He said that social support for the party line was widening, which is a result of consistent implementation of this line. The party's policy is based on the striving to agreement with society which wants stability and peace. At the same time this is a line of struggle against the opponents of socialism and forces stirring trouble.

Regrettably, quite a different line of action has been taken by some of the former Solidarnosc activists, Barcikowski noted. They have staked on stirring new tensions, on reversing the process of normalization, on pitting the society against the authorities. Various attempts at fomenting unrest followed, such as, for instance, those of the early days of May. The attempt undertaken by the opponents of socialism to secure themselves impunity despite martial law misfired and, what is particularly important, found no support among worker crews. Barcikowski also stressed the clear (?comparison) of activity by domestic anti-socialist forces and foreign centres of subversion. This has an unambiguous political significance.

The recent period, said Barcikowski, was the time of a successive important test for the party, a trial of its ability to act effectively. The party as a rule passed this test successfully. It consolidated its unity of action and enhanced its conviction that it not only has the duty to lead Poland out of crisis but also has the possibilities to do it.

Orzechowski at Krosno Meeting

LD280852 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 27 May 82

[Text] Marian Orzechowski, party Central Committee secretary, met today with the Krosno Voivodship Ideological Front aktiv to discuss important political, ideological, educational and cultural problems. Replying to questions by the assembly, he accentuated the need to consolidate the party ranks in order to rebuild its authority and leading and directing role in the implementation of the ninth party congress resolutions and of the program for overcoming the country's crisis. The Central Committee secretary stated that the overriding task is to obtain the full support of Polish youth in the construction of socialism. The precondition for the proper functioning of society and of the party is to enter into dialogue, develop forms of social consultation over important decisions, research into public opinion and to improve the information system.

KATOWICE PARTY MEMBERSHIP FLUCTUATIONS REPORTED

LD262236 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 26 May 82

[Correspondent from Katowice]

[Excerpt] Katowice Voivodship's party organization has more than 301,000 members. Since August the party's ranks have decreased by 83,000 people. Some of them handed in their party cards, others were simply crossed off or expelled. However, the party is enriched every day with new people. This is a constant process. There are many young people among the candidates. They come to the party as a result of a very mature decision. It has to be that kind of decision, particularly now in the present conditions of party activity.

GDANSK VOIVODSHIP COUNCIL ELECTS CHAIRMAN

LD261542 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 26 May 82

[Text] [Dateline not given] -- In connection with the resignation of T. Fiszbach from the function of chairman of the Gdansk Voivodship People's Council, a council session elected docent Dr L. Bednarski as the new chairman. Dr Bednarski was connected with the coast since 1945 and since 1950 he worked in the Sopot Higher School of Economics, then at Gdansk University as head of the economics analyses group and next as director of the Institute of Finances and Cost Accounting. He is the author of many valuable academic works.

GIEREK POLICY TOWARD OPPOSITION GROUPS SCORED

LD272224 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 27 May 82

[Jan Podowski commentary]

[Excerpt] During the 1970's journalists were occasionally given doctored recordings from periodic meetings between Edward Gierek and a selected group of leading Polish editors and journalists. I remember that during one such meeting -- perhaps it followed the June 1976 events -- someone in the room asked the then first secretary: Why does the party treat the activity of the opposition groups so liberally? Gierek replied: I don't think they could ever play a large political role. One should be more afraid of those party members whom I would call the strong-arm men who actually demand that these groups be given tough treatment. At this point the tape was turned down so I never found out who Edward Gierek had in mind when he spoke of the strong-arm men. All this came back to me during a break in the trial of the leaders of the confederation of independent Poland which has been going on for some time now at the district military court in Warsaw. Two reflections occurred to me in connection with this -- an optimistic one and a pessimistic one.

The optimistic reflection: Even in 1976, when the opposition groups were just beginning to develop their activity, people could be found in the party who were able to perceive the growing danger and who tried to counter the erroneous policies of the then first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. A pessimistic reflection: A great error was committed then when Gierek and his coworkers were allowed -- despite growing opposition in the party -- to continue for nearly 4 years that disastrous, liberal policy vis-a-vis the up-and-coming force of the antisocialist opposition. If the activity of such grouping had been blocked earlier the well-developed process of anarchizing social life in Poland would not have come about. Nor would there have been the preparations for the direct attack by the antisocialist forces on the people's state, which in its turn led to the necessity of introducing martial law.

MALINOWSKI COMMENTS ON ZSL, FARMER'S UNION

LD271704 Warsaw PAP in English 1430 GMT 27 May 82

[Text] Warsaw, 27 May (PAP) -- Roman Malinowski, chairman of the United Peasant Party Central Committee and deputy prime minister said in an interview for the National Workers' Agency reprinted by TRYBUNA LUDU today that this party did not intend to produce an undemocratic formula for a trade organization of Polish farmers. He said: "Concerted, consistent and persistent cooperation between towns and villages as well as industry and agriculture should lead to taking Poland out of the crisis.

"As a political party the United Peasant Party (ZSL) does not want to advance a ready-made formula for a socio-professional organization of farmers. This should be solved within and as a result of democratic discussion. There is no doubt, however, that a social and self-governing structure must be authentic and suited to the conditions in villages and agriculture, that it must serve to consolidate farmers and not to split them and set at loggerheads... it should be based on the legal and constitutional order. Although martial law is in effect, a self-government like this has become an urgent necessity for farmers."

The vice-premier stressed next that the inter-party relations between his party, the PUWP and the Democratic Party (SD) were based on partnerly arrangements.

"We are an active advocate of developing socialism by permanently enriching the content of the alliance between the workers and the peasants.

"...The individual partners to the coalition system of government do have and should have their own opinion on relevant issues and in the search for best solutions of social and economic issues.

"We are paying so much attention to this question because we have already experienced it many times in the past that many of the deformations in the system of government were exactly rooted in the functional shortcomings in the state, in the manner of decision making and in dwarfing the role of allied political parties. The practice of recent months proves that changes for the better have been occurring in this field.

"General Wojciech Jaruzelski is an ardent true advocate of cooperation between parties based on partnership and the system of government based on coalition," said the vice-premier.

KOWALCZYK ATTENDS LUBLIN SD CONFERENCE

LD272316 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 27 May 82

[Text] A conference of the voivodship aktiv of the SD with the participation of Deputy Premier Edward Kowalczyk, chairman of the SD Presidium, has taken place in Lublin. During the discussion problems connected with the increase of productivity, the state tax policy (?as regards) craftsmen, economic reform and Poland's indebtedness abroad were considered. Professor Edward Kowalczyk answered questions posed by the participants of the meeting and also presented the results of his visit to the Federal Republic of Germany. He reported, among other things, on his meeting with Hans-Dietrich Genscher and Otto Graf Lambsdorff.

RAIL EMPLOYEES SENTENCED FOR AID PACKAGE THEFTS

LD270230 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0001 GMT 27 May 82

[Text] The Military Court in Slupsk has handed down sentences in a trial of two employees of the Polish State Railways' [PKP] luggage and express distribution warehouse in Slupsk. Since December of last year they had been robbing parcels arriving from West European countries. In order to balance out the differences in weight after they had removed coffee, chocolates, clothes and other goods, they replaced the goods with bricks and pieces of metal. For stealing property of a value exceeding Z40 000. (Jerzy Horodiuk), 25, was sentenced to 4 years of deprivation of freedom and was fined. (Zygmunt Wicher) was sentenced to 3 and a half years imprisonment and was also fined. Having been passed under summary procedure, the sentences are legally binding.

RZECZPOSPOLITA: U.S. BEHIND LOSS OF COAL MARKETS

LD251658 Warsaw PAP in English 1406 GMT 25 May 82

[Text] Warsaw, 25 May (PAP) -- "The political struggle waged last year by the extreme quarters of Solidarnosc was closely tied to a wide-scaled action aimed at weakening and paralyzing the economy," said the Polish daily newspaper RZECZPOSPOLITA today, adding that coal mining occupied top position in that action. This brought about a fall in coal output of nearly 60 million tonnes in 1981, which was unexampled in Poland's post-war history.

This was simultaneously exploited by our competition. Poland failed to meet her export commitments spelled out in the concluded trade accords. Gradually we began to lose our sales markets, which it took us many years to build up. The economy, like nature, does not tolerate vacuum. The markets which we failed to satisfy were immediately penetrated by others, first and foremost by the American exporters. The anarchy and chaos which prevailed in our country, destability and economic weakness were to their advantage. Therefore they were calling for it, supporting those who conducted the actions to hamper coal output.

At present, the Americans dispelled all doubts. U.S. Commerce Secretary Malcolm Baldridge made a characteristic comparison.

Praising the U.S. economy as the most stable in the world among the coal exporting countries, he simultaneously pointed in this respect to 'the disquieting' situation in Poland. In this way he clearly hinted who is the trust-worthy partner and who is not...

RZECZPOSPOLITA stated that "these words come right at a time when the United States -- with the help of various methods, economic restrictions, propaganda actions, blackmail -- are still trying to activate these elements in our country which 'guarantee' a return of anarchy and chaos.

"This is the way in which quite a prosaic business is concealed behind an alleged defence of 'human rights', the declarations on democracy, political pluralism and the like, and actions on behalf of American concerns are concealed in the activities in the name of the Polish national interests'.

"We may confront it with the maintenance of positive trends in economy and, especially, a high hard coal output achieved by the miners. The social and economic stability, increasing work efficiency and order cannot only lead steadily to overcoming the crisis but also to restoring the confidence of our foreign trade partners."

ENVOY CRITICIZES WESTERN STANCE AT ARMS TALKS

LD282134 Warsaw PAP in English 2013 GMT 27 May 82

[Text] Vienna, 27 May (PAP) -- Chairman of the Polish delegation, Ambassador Stanislaw Przygodzki, took the floor today at the successive plenary session of the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in central Europe. The speaker stressed the necessity of reaching agreement on troops reductions and armaments level in this part of the continent and recalled the constructive draft agreement on the subject submitted last February 18 by Poland, on behalf of Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic and the Soviet Union. The socialist countries' document takes into account the standpoint of the western states on many key questions.

Poland's delegate stated that a positive outcome of the Vienna talks would be of immense significance for the strengthening of peace and initiation of genuine detente on our continent. Criticising the unconstructive stance of the West, Ambassador Przygodzki pointed out that NATO countries resorted to various ploys to delay starting work on the text of the draft presented by the socialist countries.

CZYREK RECEIVES LCY'S MILIOSEVIC 19 MAY

AU241420 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 May 82 p 2

[PAP report: "Cooperation Between the LCY and the PZPR"]

[Text] Bora Miosevic, head of the LCY Central Committee Department for International Contacts and Relations, visited Poland on 17-19 May and had talks in the Foreign, Organizational and Information departments of the PZPR Central Committee. The sides agreed on and adopted a plan for interparty cooperation for 1982-83. At the end of his visit Bora Miosevic was received by Jozef Czyrek, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary.

JARUZELSKI RECEIVES ENVOYS ON AFRICA DAY

LD271710 Warsaw PAP in Russian 1500 GMT 27 May 82

[Text] Warsaw, 27 May (PAP) -- on 27 May Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Military Council of National Salvation, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish Peoples Republic and general of the army, received the chief of diplomatic missions of African countries accredited to Poland on the occasion of the liberation day of Africa. Problems of the development of the relations between Poland and the countries of Africa were discussed during a friendly talk. Jozef Czyrek, minister of foreign affairs of the Polish Peoples Republic, participated in the meeting.

CEAUSESCU MEETS PRC POLITBURO MEMBER WANG ZHEN

AU271828 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1800 GMT 27 May 82

[Text] Bucharest, 27 May (AGERPRES) -- Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the RCP, president of Romania, received on May 27 Wang Zhen, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Chinese Communist Party, member of the standing committee of the CC of the CCP, who paid a visit to Romania.

The interview was attended by Dumitru Popescu, member of the Political Executive Committee of the CC of the RCP, rector of the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy, and Lieutenant General Constantin Olteanu, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee of the CC of the RCP, minister of national defence.

The guest conveyed to Nicolae Ceausescu a warm salute and most cordial wishes from the Chinese party and state leaders. At the same time, he expressed gratitude for the interview granted by the Romanian party and state leader, for the possibility offered to visit Romania and to get to know the achievements scored by the Romanian people under the leadership of the RCP, of its secretary general in the building of the multilaterally developed socialist society.

Nicolae Ceausescu thanked and conveyed to the Chinese leaders his friendly salute and best wishes, and to the friendly Chinese people fresh and ever bigger successes in the socialist construction, in raising its welfare and happiness.

During the interview, they evoked with great satisfaction the relations of close friendship and solidarity, of fruitful collaboration between the RCP and the Chinese Communist Party, between Romania and China, between the peoples of the two countries, relations that have continuously expanded and improved. At the same time, the mutual wish was emphasized to develop and strengthen these good relations on a political, economic, technico-scientific, cultural and other planes, to the benefit of both countries and peoples, in the interest of socialist construction in Romania and the People's Republic of China, of the general cause of socialism, of peace and progress of mankind. In that frame, satisfaction was expressed at the recent official visit of friendship of President Nicolae Ceausescu and of Elena Ceausescu to the People's Republic of China, at the talks and results of the summit Romanian-Chinese dialogue.

During the talk, they stressed that in the current most tense international political situation it is more necessary than ever that the peoples' struggle be intensified for the cessation of the arms race, for disarmament, nuclear above all, for the attainment of all nations' aspirations after peace, freedom and social progress.

The interview passed in a warm, comradely atmosphere.

FOREIGN MINISTER MEETS EGYPTIAN PREMIER IN CAIRO

AU271932 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1830 GMT 27 May 82

[Text] Cairo, 27 May (AGERPRES) -- Stefan Andrei, Romanian minister of foreign affairs, was received by host Prime Minister Dr Ahmad Fu'ad Muhyi ad-Din during a visit he is paying to Egypt. While in Egypt the Romanian minister also conducted talks with Muhammad 'Abd al-Fattah Ibrahim, deputy prime minister for economic and financial problems, as well as the ministers of economy and economic cooperation, industry, agriculture and finance.

During the talks the sides evoked the good relations extant between Romania and Egypt, on multiple planes, expressing at the same time the wish to expand and diversify the Romanian-Egyptian collaboration in the political, economic, cultural, technical and scientific fields in the spirit of the agreements reached at summit level. The sides discussed particularly problems related to the widening of the trade exchanges and the further development of the collaboration in the fields of industry, oil, agriculture, in electrification, mechanization of agriculture and in the preparation of the impending session of the joint commission on economic cooperation.

The interviews passed in a cordial atmosphere.

AGRICULTURE MINISTER RECEIVES USSR COUNTERPART

AU271604 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1500 GMT 27 May 82

[Text] Ion Tesu, minister of agriculture and food industry, today met with Valentin Karpovich Mesyats, USSR minister of agriculture, who is heading a Soviet delegation on a visit to our country. On this occasion, the sides exchanged views on the agricultural situation in the two countries and the prospects for developing agricultural production in the future. They also examined new opportunities to expand cooperation between the two ministries in fields of mutual interest.

NEW DEPUTIES ELECTED TO NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

AU270832 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 May 82 p 5

["Communique of the Central Commission on the Election of Four Deputies to the Grand National Assembly"]

[Excerpt] The following comrades were elected deputies to the Grand National Assembly: Manea Manescu, professor, Academy member, from the "13 December" electoral constituency No 21 of Bucharest municipality; Petre Gigea, minister of finance, from electoral constituency No 6 Faurei, Braila county; Petre Lungu, first secretary of the RCP Gorj county committee, from electoral constituency No 1 Tirgu Jiu of Gorj county; Stefanache Marin, director general of the Motru mining combine, from electoral constituency No 2 Motru, Gorj county.

ROMANIAN-SOMALI ECONOMIC COMMISSION MEETS

AU271602 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1500 GMT 27 May 82

[Text] Proceedings of the first session of the Joint Romanian-Somali Governmental Commission for Economic and Technical Cooperation started today in Bucharest. In accordance with the program on long-term development of economic and technical cooperation and trade exchanges between the two countries, a program signed in Bucharest in 1981, the commission is examining the current stage of relations of economic and technical cooperation and opportunities for their continuous development.

CEAUSESCU GREETS ENRICO BERLINGUER ON BIRTHDAY

AU270835 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 May 82 p 5

[Text] To Comrade Enrico Berlinguer, PCI secretary general:

Dear Comrade Berlinguer, on the occasion of your 60th birthday, on behalf of the communists, all working people in the Socialist Republic of Romania, and myself, I take great pleasure in conveying to you warmest congratulations and wishes for success in your work as head of the PCI.

I want to take this opportunity to stress the ascending evolution of the good relations of friendship, solidarity and cooperation, mutual esteem and respect between the RCP and the PCI, in the conviction that these relations will further expand and diversify, in the interests of the traditional cooperation between Romania and Italy and between our peoples, and of the cause of peace, detente, security and national independence, and of international cooperation and collaboration.

Dear Comrade Berlinguer: I wish you a long life, health and ever greater successes in your activities and those of the PCI.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general

SERBIAN LC CONGRESS OPENS IN BELGRADE 27 MAY

AU271052 [Editorial Report] Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 0855 GMT on 27 May begins a live relay of the first plenary session of the Ninth Congress of the League of Communists of Serbia from the Sava Center in Belgrade. Following the formal opening of the congress, Tihomir Vlaskalic greets the delegation of the LCY Central Committee consisting of Aleksandar Grlickov, Ferhard Kotoric and Albina Tusar, and the delegations of the republican central committees and the provincial committees of the League of Communists. Vlaskalic then proposes and the congress unanimously elects the congress' working presidium, which includes, among others, Dobrivoje Vidic, Tihomir Vlaskalic, Spiro Galovic, Marko Djuricin, Bosko Krunic, Nikola Ljubicic, Sinan Hasani and Ivan Stambolic.

At 0906 GMT Nikola Ljubicic thanks the congress on behalf of the presidium for the election and, as presiding member of the first plenary session, delivers an 11-minute eulogy to Tito. He points out among other things: "In the most difficult periods of our revolution we turned our eyes to Comrade Tito and we learned, with complete trust, to leave the most of the responsibility to him. The time has now come for us, courageously and in a principled manner and following the example of our great comrade and teacher, to face the difficulties, decide our fate, constantly bearing in mind Tito's example and his historic work And that work endures precisely because it has never become encapsulated in any respect, because it does not teach with dogmas and canons but by searching, exploring and discovering."

Ljubicic emphasizes that the "great vacuum caused by the departure of Comrade Tito and his closest fellow combatant, Edvard Kardelj, and many other prominent revolutionaries cannot be filled with mere pledges of loyalty to their work no matter how sincere these pledges may be. It is only by persevering in our work and creativity, only by strengthening the League of Communists, better work and responsibility, and by deepening the socialist self-managing relations that we can continue to follow the road on which Tito led us. It is only in this way that there will be Tito after Tito."

In this connection Ljubicic further says: "In fulfilling our obligations toward our great revolutionaries, Comrades Tito and Kardelj, I want to repeat what Comrade Kardelj said at the 11th LCY Congress: Life continues without interruption; there is no end to progress. The objective conditions in society are changing every day. It is only the Communist Party that is capable of transforming these objective possibilities as soon as possible into new subjective steps of further social progress always seeking new, ever better and freer solutions that can expect to really be the leading ideological and political force of society.

"The Serbian communists, within the unified organization of the LCY, assume with full responsibility their share of obligations and tasks stemming from the historic and inspiring works of Comrades Tito and Kardelj."

Following a minute of silence to honor the memory of Tito and all members of the League of Communists of Serbia who died in the period between the eighth and ninth congresses of the League of Communists of Serbia, the congress appoints delegations to lay wreaths at Tito's tomb, the tomb of Belgrade liberators, the graves of Djuro Djakovic, Mosa Pijade, Ivan Milutinovic and Ivo Lola Ribar at Kalemegdan, the grave of Svetozar Markovic in Svetozarevo, the graves of Radovan Dragovic and Dusan Popovic at the new cemetery, the grave of Javan Veselinov in Novi Sad, the monument to Dimitrije Tucovic in Belgrade and the monument of Filip Filipovic in Cacak.

The congress then unanimously adopts the agenda and appoints the following working bodies of the congress: the commissions for drafting the congress resolution and for preparing the draft statute of the League of Communists of Serbia, the nomination commission; the congress secretariat, the commission for petitions and complaints, the credentials verification commission, the commission for the election of the organs of the League of Communists of Serbia and delegates to the 12th LCY Congres, and the commission for editing and publishing the documents of the ninth congress.

At 0930 GMT Dr Tihomir Vlaskalic, president of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia, takes the floor to deliver his report entitled "The League of Communists of Serbia in the Struggle for Social and Economic Stabilization on the Foundations of Socialist Self-Management."

Vlaskalic Report

LD270024 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0949 GMT 26 May 82

["Dr Tihomir Vlaskalic's Report to the Ninth Serbian League of Communists Congress" -- TANJUG headline]

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 26 May (TANJUG) -- At this congress the Serbian League of Communists should express its firm resolve to continue even more successfully its activity in the direction of the further and comprehensive development of self-management, to constantly make this activity concrete and enrich it with deeds and not with words, to unceasingly strengthen the brotherhood and unity of the nations and nationalities in the Serbian Socialist Republic and in so doing to make its constant contribution to the consolidation and prosperity of our Yugoslav community. This is stressed in the report "The Serbian League of Communists in the struggle for Social and Economic Stabilization on the Foundations of Socialist Self-Management" which Dr Tihomir Vlaskalic, president of the Serbian League of Communists CC will submit tomorrow at the Ninth Serbian League of Communists Congress.

The continuity of our revolution today lies in the further development of self-management, Vlaskalic said, and added that new results have been attained during the past 4 years in the development of self-management, but the general concensus of opinion is that they are inadequate. This is why today reference is rightly made to a certain delay in the development of self-management relations.

The counterrevolutionary attempt in Kosovo, which revealed the wrong political orientation of the previous Kosovo leadership which had gone on for years and which was most clearly expressed in concealing mounting nationalism and irredentism and in bureaucratic shutting oneself in concerning the Serbian Socialist Republic and the SFRY, deeply alarmed all our working people, Vlaskalic went on to say. But at the same time it received a riposte from our unity and strength to defend the achievements of our revolution and the constitutional order in our country. The LCY political platform for the action of organized socialist forces on the further consolidation and development of socialist self-management, brotherhood and unity and togetherness in Kosovo clearly expresses our resolve to defend the integrity of the Yugoslav community against counterrevolutionary onslaughts by Albanian nationalists and irredentists, as well as our political orientation to resolve the current and long-term tasks of the further social and material development of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

According to Vlaskalic, the attitude toward counterrevolutionary actions in Kosovo has wider significance. Bureaucratic tendencies of encapsulation of every kind, toleration of nationalism in one's own nation, of bypassing the working class and its interests and of neglecting to build socialist self-management interests must be eradicated from our political life in all environments. We must return to sober and responsible talks and discussions on the real problems of our society so that we can move forward together. Matters cannot be said to be good in any environment in our country unless we try to make that kind of situation prevail everywhere nor can matters be bad in just one place without being felt throughout our society.

The tendencies to expand expenditures irrespective of available income continue to persist and are based on localist interpretations of the concept of one's own development which have taken firm root even in League of Communists leaderships themselves, Vlaskalic stressed. Among other things, he added that agriculture is another area in which the necessary stabilization results have not been attained. With the exception of Vojvodina, agricultural production not only is not a factor of stabilization in the balance of payment situation in the country and in stable food product supplies for the population, but creates instabilities in supplies and still makes the country dependent on imports of some stable agricultural produce.

Speaking on the significance of regional development, Vlaskalic stressed that in the ensuing period the faster economic development of the republican area outside the provinces should be attained in order to arrest the long-term tendency to comparatively stagnate in relation to the average degree of development of the country as a whole.

During the first years of the period between the two congresses, the relative lagging behind of Vojvodina in relation to the development of the country was arrested, Vlaskalic said, and stressed that the acceleration of the economic development of Kosovo with a view to beginning to reduce the differences in the degree of economic development of this province in relation to the national average and the formulation of the development concept which will help new generations to be employed faster, especially educated cadres, is a major task faced today by virtually the entire community, especially by associated labor through the country.

Having noted that during the past 4 years an additional 528,000 workers have been employed in the republic, which he assessed as being a major result, Vlaskalic stressed that despite this imposing number of newly employed people, unemployment continues to represent a very serious economic and sociopolitical problem. The opening of prospects for employment and work for our young generation so that they can take on the responsibility for the stabilization of the economy and for the economic and social progress of our country is one of the cardinal tasks and commitments of our society.

The struggle of economic stabilization so far, Vlaskalic said, has indicated the possibilities and the ways and means of achieving success. It also demonstrated our weak points. It is clear that the road of stabilization is the road of a more courageous and resolute development of self-management, of the affirmation of economic laws and of association, of more efficient and faster negotiations and agreement-seeking, and of greater responsibility and better work by all working people.

Having noted that it would be wrong and that it would make party action at grassroots level passive if we expect this or that law to resolve all the problems, Vlaskalic stressed that it is the task of the League of Communists to change the situation where there is a fair amount of deviation from our orientation, where the solutions pertaining to our systems are distorted and where the process of negotiations and agreement-seeking is inefficient. According to him, the basic reasons for the slowdown and stagnation of self-management relations can be found in the mounting etatist practice within the activity of sociopolitical communities. Bureaucratic voluntarism in the economy, which is expressed in the increasingly extensive adoption of economic decisions without reference to associated labor, leads to territorialization of economic development, to the encapsulation of the economy and to large-scale and inefficient investments in order to "round off" economic structures.

Herein, Vlaskalic said, lie the basic reasons for the driven-out economic laws of socialist commodity production, the violation of the unity of the Yugoslav market as well as the reasons for the tendencies toward encapsulation and autarchic economic development, especially at the republican and provincial level. These negative processes and the fact that they feed one another seriously disrupt economic developments and open up many conflict-ridden situations. The LCY and all our society are facing the paramount task of unravelling and cutting this knot of our social and economic contradictions and of ushering in new prospects for our self-management and material development.

Vlaskalic then pointed out several causes for the consolidation of etatist relations. The slowness and sometimes even the hesitation of the whole subjective factor, mainly of the League of Communists, in devising practical self-management relations for the problems requiring an answer led into a situation where, in the absence of self-management solutions, the vacuum was filled with administrative solutions. On the other hand, the complex nature of our society requires new appropriate forms of state measures which in their turn will encourage association and mergers within the process of social reproduction because the practice of conventional state intervention always threatens either etatization or withdrawal of social influence leaving the scope open to group-ownership unforeseeable developments.

The fundamental and verbal criticism of etatism must be replaced by practical action in the development of self-management, Vlaskalic stressed. He added that in this respect crucial importance lies with the affirmation of the economic laws and association and linking-up of organizations of associated labor in social reproduction. Association and linking-up in the economy are today a key point in affirming the self-management position of the working man. In no basic organization of associated labor should it be forgotten for a moment that only the working people, associated and linked-up, can control social affairs.

Vlaskalic stressed that a responsible and critical analysis must be made of the functioning of the political system and the activity of the communists in this system. In this connection, the development of the political system cannot be viewed in isolation from the real trend of economic relations in the past period and political and ideological relations. We cannot accept a generalized, negative and supposedly radical criticism of the delegate system and at the same time we cannot accept all the existing forms of the political system as definitive. We must also free ourselves of the idea that virtually everything can be resolved by the system and laws. Not even in the delegate system can spontaneity or automatism replace the organized, creative force of society.

It is precisely at this time of intensified economic and other difficulties that we must resolutely oppose tendencies toward returning to administrative measures and to wide-ranging state intervention in the economy and other spheres for in the long run this can only exacerbate the economic, political and intranational problems. Both as a republic and a country we can develop in a stable manner and we can successfully resolve today's contradictions only through the development of self-management socialist democracy and through genuine support from the working people of town and country, Vlaskalic said, stressing that the growth of the political force of the executive and administrative organs and the genuinely greater role they have than the one assigned them by the Constitution should not be underestimated. These tendencies have arisen from the economic contradictions and problems and great sluggishness and lack of organization in the construction of self-management forms and solutions and through too great a dependence on administrative measures.

From the basic League of Communists organization to the Central Committee of the Serbian League of Communists we must carry out a faster and more organized examination of the forms and methods which will enable the League of Communists and other sociopolitical organizations to operate on a day-to-day basis in the self-management organizations and communities, the delegations and assemblies, Vlaskalic stressed, and then went on to raise the question of relations between the republics and provinces. Underlining the great importance of the December session of the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee which examined these questions and in particular the jointly and unanimously adopted conclusions as binding points of departure for all members of the Serbian League of Communists, he observed that the more difficult part of this work, the implementation of these conclusions, still lies ahead.

In the by-no-means easy years which we have just been through, the report goes on to say, the organs of the federation have successfully carried out their constitutional role on the whole. However, we cannot close our eyes before the difficulties and relative slowness experienced in adopting some of the economic and development decisions. We are convinced that progress can be achieved in this decisionmaking process: first, if the republics and provinces manifest more sense and willingness in respecting the interests of others and in searching for joint solutions in the federation, thus expressing their responsibility for relations in the federation and its overall development, second, if in the interrepublican agreement-reaching the assemblies (and through them the self-management organizations and communities) acquire a more active role, and third, if the federal organs, especially the Federal Executive Council, make more efficient use of their constitutional authority.

The guarantee of security and freedom for the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia, Vlaskalic went on to stress, lies in their togetherness and unity on the basis of the socialist revolution, self-management and equality. This is precisely the sociohistoric progressive content of Tito's slogan of brotherhood and unity.

Only the Yugoslav community can ensure the optimum conditions for the development of every nation and nationality. The federation is the mainstay of our independence and only in this kind of Yugoslav community can we all protect and safeguard our future, not only in the sense of political indpendence, but also in the creation of the optimum conditions for the economic progress of all our nations and nationalties and of each of them individually. This feeling has become so widely deer-rooted in the masses that nationalists have, in fact, very little fuel or scope for attacking this development.

The Serbian League of Communists, the report goes on, has achieved a significant step forward in its own development and activity in the period since the last congress, constantly trying to direct its activity toward the demands of the times and the needs and interests of the working class and all working people.

Emphasizing the need for the continued development of self-management as the essence of social changes of a revolutionary nature, Vlaskalic emphasized that such a struggle requires an undogmatic and democratic League of Communists with a firm ideological orientation, capable of carrying out real social changes.

Vlaskalic emphasized that verbalism in work has still not been eradicated, that there is quite a lot of opportunism in the ranks of the League of Communists and sometimes there is even a certain degree of laziness and vacillation by communists in the struggle for self-management solutions in the practice of social relations.

A tendency to rely on the state and its powers of regulation as a way of solving social problems, which have been resorted to recently expresses this characteristic of the ideological situation in the League of Communists which separates it from the life problems of the working class and its interests. We must oppose this resolutely, Vlaskalic said.

The emphasis given to democratic centralism in the League of Communists is justified, Vlaskalic went on. For us this is not an academic question but an essential element of relations in the League of Communists and a prerequisite for its leading ideopolitical role in society. We must hold to Tito's slogan: the broadest democracy in developing policy and adopting decisions, the firmest unity in their implementation from top to bottom.

Concluding that it is essential to develop and strengthen democratic centralism in the League of Communists while rejecting any anarchistic and bourgeois change in its concept and significance, Vlaskalic advocated the nurturing of democratic relations and democratic, tolerant and well-argued discussions when establishing standpoints and conclusions as well as their implementation in a unified and resolute way. We must get rid of the political way of returning to problems which have been overcome, discussions about discussions, the delaying of democratically adopted standpoints and conclusions and everything that drags us back.

Our discussions of relations in the Serbian socialist republic in connection with the realization of the Constitution, as well as of relations in the Serbian League of Communists, have demonstrated that we have before us in life unanswered questions which require solutions. One of the basic tasks of the Serbian League of Communists as a whole, as well as of the Vojvodina and Kosovo Leagues of Communists, is constant and careful vigilance over the resolution of such questions in these relations and orienting activity in the direction of real solutions, Vlaskalic emphasized.

Vlaskalic emphasized in particular communists' responsibility in the information media. The best way to overcome occasional weaknesses in public organs is to increase affirmation of the real work of League of Communists organizations in them and to develop the information media as a significant subjective force in our society.

Experience demonstrates that it has become a rule that as activity by anti-self-management and antisocialist forces increases in society, the more difficulties and problems there are. They counted and continue to count on the post-Tito period, trying to take advantage of the country's economic difficulties, wanting to make use of the counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo and preaching a different kind of Yugoslavia and different relations within it.

In all these essentially reactionary phenomena there is nothing new, but our vigilance and political activity must not close its eyes to them. In particular we must be vigilant in relation to nationalism and nationalistic phenomena for this reactionary ideology is to most dangerous for our multinational community, Vlaskalic emphasized.

Valskalic devoted a separate part of his report to the attempted counterrevolution in Kosovo. In his words, the most serious and long-term consequence of the attempted counter-revolution in Kosovo and activity by hostile nationalistic and irredentist forces, which have not been eliminated completely, is the serious disturbance in international relations in the province, including various types of pressure in favor of the emigration of the Serbian and Montenegrin population from Kosovo. The stabilization of intranational relations, an end to emigration under pressure and the affirmation of the policy of brotherhood and unity is one of the basic tasks of the Kosovo League of Communists.

At the end of his report Dr Timhomir Flaskalic emphasized that the development of a progressive, socialist, critical consciousness in society is of prime significance for the League of Communists. This would point to negative tendencies and phenomena, seek their eradication and open up paths for continued socialist development.

More on Vlaskalic

AU272023 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0930 GMT 27 May 82

[Report by Tihomir Vlaskalic, president of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia, submitted to the Ninth Congress of the League of Communists of Serbia at the Sava Congress Center in Belgrade on 27 May -- live]

[Excerpts] Comrades: It is the need of our society today -- and for this reason this must also be the task of the Ninth Congress of the League of Communists in Serbia -- to determine by a full, objective and critical analysis the level of development that we have achieved, the situation in the material and social relations and in the ideological awareness of our society today, and to determine as realistically as possible the foundations and directions upon which we will base the activity of the League of Communists of Serbia and the working people in the struggle for further social progress.

Also at this congress, the League of Communists of Serbia must express its firm determination to continue even more successfully its activity in the direction of the further comprehensive development of self-management, to constantly concretize and enrich this activity by work and not by words, to constantly strengthen the brotherhood and unity of the peoples and nationalities in our republic, and thus to make its constant contribution to the strengthening and prospetity of our Yugoslav community. Different work and activity cannot be within the framework of the policy and practice of the League of Communists of Serbia. I am firmly convinced that this congress of ours will adopt this orientation also on this occasion, and that it will oblige members of the League of Communists of Serbia to firmly adhere to and implement this orientation.

The central point of economic difficulties is in our economic relations with foreign countries. In the unfavorable internat onal economic conditions, we are facing the need to radically reduce the country's balance of payments deficit and large repayments for loans and interest due. An increase in exports is, therefore, the most topical priority of economic stabilization. This is the condition not only for solving the problems of the balance of payments but also for maintaining continuity in the growth of production. That is, it is the basis for further economic stabilization. In our republic we have developed broad activities aimed at increasing exports, ranging from additional impetus measures to a precise programming and planning of exports. We must continue to do everything possible to ensure a lasting and stable growth of exports, both for solving the current difficulties as well as for the future development of our economy and its more equitable inclusion in international economic relations.

At the same time the expansion of association and linkage of work organizations is the best basis for strengthening togetherness in Yugoslavia, a togetherness based on socialist self-management and on national equality as its component. However, also in this field we cannot wait for the processes of association to be developed to a sufficient extent by themselves so as to prevent every undermining of togetherness. As the League of Communists, we must make resolute efforts to achieve a general effort of all institutions of our system throughout the country, to achieve the activity aimed at strengthening togetherness. The organs of the sociopolitical communities, particularly those of the republics and provinces, must by their own activity and unity in this respect create the conditions for spreading association, and on this basis for consolidating togetherness in the grassroots of our society.

A component part of this activity is also the need to create the unity of the Yugoslav market. This unity will be realized most completely to that extent in which the economic position of the organizations of associated labor is strengthened, and in which the organizations of associated labor are the basic elements and proponents of economic development. In a unified market built on self-managing foundations, there can be no differences between the constitutional role and responsibility of the republics and provinces for their own development and for the development of the country as a whole.

During the past 4 years, the building of relations in the Socialist Republic of Serbia on constitutional foundations has embraced all socioeconomic and political relations, including also the problem of relations between the republic and the provinces within the republic. We exhaustively, openly and in a responsible manner analyzed these problems and relations between the republic and the provinces at the 18th session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia in December 1981. On this occasion, I would not like to repeat the assessments and conclusions that we reached then. I would only like to stress the exeptionally great importance of that session and in particular the conclusions that were adopted jointly and unanimously as binding obligations for all communists in our republic — that is, as the basic political assumption and point of departure for settling the relations on the basis of the Constitution in certain areas.

Naturally, we still face the more difficult part of the task: to implement the adopted conclusions in daily practice. This task calls for a high level of political responsibility of all those participating in this task; the awareness of common interests, mutual confidence and tolerance; a creative joint search; and the application of specific and new solutions based on the Constitution for relations between the republic and the provinces.

We cannot allow behavior and acts which do not take account of the conclusions of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia and the provincial committees of the League of Communists. Certain most important problems have been calarified politically. We have agreed that no one demands a change of the Constitution, but rather a consistent application of the Constitution. We have agreed that a vital precondition for building unity and togetherness in the Socialist Republic of Serbia is as broad as possible association of labor and pooling of resources of the organizations of associated labor. We adopted a number of specific tasks of the organs of the League of Communists and communists in the organs of the assembly, in the organs of the republic and provinces along this line.

The conclusions are being implemented, and we can note certain good results. Relations within the republic are no longer the subject of closed discussions. The working people have been informed of problems and they show great political interest in removing the misunderstandings and in implementing the relations as laid down by the Constitution. However, it would be groundless to expect that there will be no discussions and different positions in settling specific problems, because this is only natural. We will overcome the differences through common work. However, we must jointly oppose everything that could jeopardize our determination to implement the conclusions on implementing the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, the Constitutions of the provinces and the SFRY Constitution.

We must resolutely oppose everything that might lead us to a statist centralism and a unitarian state. At the same time we must oppose with the same resoluteness every local narrow-mindedness, the isolation within one's own boundaries and the phenomena of republican and provincial statism, which does not realize that the individual republics and provinces can develop successfully only when, particularly economically, they know how to link their interests with the interests of others in our federation.

The system of making agreements among the republics and provinces must unavoidably be complex, and sometimes it may even slow down the very procedure of decisionmaking. However, we cannot dispense with this procedure because it results from the nature of our federation.

It is indispensable, however, that the republics and provinces firmly adhere not only to their rights, but also to their mutual responsibilities for an effective implementation of the federation's functions. Accords also imply mutual concessions in order that a common decision is adopted in time. One cannot stubbornly insist on one's own interest, while closing one's eyes to the problems of others. In our search for a way out of dilemmas and a lack of understanding, we must not frequently resort to a delay in decisionmaking and solution. Sometimes delays are good, but sometimes they are precisely the worst possible solution. Resorting to temporary measures in constitutionally defined situations also cannot become a rule in solving certain of the most complex economic problems. Our common responsibility and interest is to promote and make more effective the accords of the republics and provinces in the federation. In this respect it is particularly important not to view individual solutions in an isolated manner, but always to view long-term prospects and a logical sequence in development as well as the entirety of the effects on our common life and development. Besides, this is what is most important because it has already been confirmed in practice.

The League of Communists of Serbia must constantly, firmly maintain the front of ideological, theoretical and political struggle against Serbian nationalism without any compromise, opportunism or exceptions. The attempt at counterrevolution in Kosovo has clearly demonstrated where a policy of ignoring, tolerating and even encouraging nationalism in one's circle can lead. In teamwork with a bureaucratization of social relations and political life, Albanian nationalism and irredentism developed rapidly, particularly through a nationalist indoctrination of a part of the younger generation in the educational processes, and through a part of historiography and cultural creativity and life.

The former political leadership of the province concealed, negated and downplayed all these phenomena, as well as various national excesses, before the public and the leadership of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the SFRY. The most serious and long-term consequence of the attempted counterrevolutionary events and activity of the hostile nationalist and irredentist forces, which have still not been completely prevented in their activity, is the grave disturbance in the intranational relations in the province, including also various pressures, pressures exerted to force the emigration of the Serbian and Montenegrin people from Kosovo.

The stabilization of intranational relations, the halting of emigration under pressure and the affirmation of the policy of brotherhood and unity is one of the basic tasks of the League of Communists of Kosovo. These positions, elaborated and concretized, were adopted by the provincial committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo and the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia, the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. They were also confirmed at the 13th Conference of the League of Communists of Kosovo. These positions were also defined in the platform of the LCY Central Committee. The specific political activity and the operations of state organs must be more effective in protecting the constitutional rights and peaceful work and life of all citizens living in Kosovo.

Last year a certain stabilization of the political relations in Kosovo occurred. To a great extent the League of Communists consolidated its ranks, and together with all progressive forces is working increasingly more energetically in the struggle against the enemy forces and on removing the consequences of the attempted counterrevolution.

Proceeding from the platform of the LCY Central Committee, the League of Communists of Serbia extends its full support to the League of Communists of Kosovo and to its leadership in the efforts to eradicate the roots of nationalism and irredentism from the social fabric of Kosovo, and to continue Kosovo's full social development on the basis of self-management and full national equality in the socialist republic of Serbia and the SFRY. The League of Communists has undertaken its part of obligations and responsibility, and will make them concrete with the aim to extend its full political contribution to the further development of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

Grlickov Speech

AU271350 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1135 GMT 27 May 82

[Speech by Dr Aleksandar Grlickov, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, at the second plenary session of the Ninth Congress of the League of Communists of Serbia, at the Sava Center in Belgrade -- live]

[Text] Dear comrades: I am grateful to have the honor of greeting the delegates and guests of the Ninth Congress of the League of Communists of Serbia on behalf of the LCY Central Committee. Expressing to you the best wishes for success in the work of your congress, the LCY Central Committee is convinced that your total results will contribute to the further development of socialism in the Socialist Republic of Serbia, and thereby, also in the SFRY.

Today we Yugoslav communists have the opportunity and the obligation to render accounts to our workers class and our people. It is necessary to say openly and honestly what we have accomplished and what we have not accomplished, what was in accord with our aspirations and what life's reality has failed to verify. In this connection we need no exaggerations either in the positive or the negative sense. An analysis of this kind requires a sense for the historical march of a revolution, its rises and falls as well as the internal and international conditions under which it is carried out. In this connection we must not forget that every revolution advances along the progressive path of its historical march if it constantly examines itself openly, without prejudice and without any entrenched dogmas, and by comparing its goals with life's reality and its contradictions. The flight from that for the sake of peace in the house is not only simple opportunism, but also a renunciation of the colossal revolutionary energy which exists and can exist unutilized in the workers class and in all socialist and self-managing working people.

Our past experiences have constantly confirmed to us that the orientation to a strategy does not mean in its essence that all specific problems and solutions are clearly recognizable and unchangeable. For this reason the implementation of a strategy requires a constant examination to determine whether it is in accord with the goals or lags behind them. Naturally, our strategy of developing socialist self-management also does not have to hand definite and concrete discoveries and answers, but it is a constant search for them.

Appraising the conditions in our society today, we must in no way forget that during our past development also, we have not been spared trials. Since the war, our country has passed through several acute crises. The prsent difficulties are perhaps more concentrated but our development is at a much higher level also. Despite all that, no one has any grounds for creating an atmosphere and belief that there are no solutions and that they are not within reach of our knowledge. We have gained sufficient experience of our own in solving the difficulties we have encountered up to now. We have always successfully overcome the difficulties by adhering to the basic values of our basic orientations and they are: socialist self-management, equality, brotherhood and unity of the peoples and nationalities in the internal political field and the nonaligned foreign policy in the foreign political field. We have constantly continued to advance our community -- both from the historical and the specific viewpoint -- toward socialism based on socialist self-management.

Today, it is up to us communists, together with all other socialist self-managing forces, on the basis of a thorough diagnosis of the situation in our society and the real causes of difficulties, to program the new stage of our further development which, preserving the continuity of the aforementioned basic values of our total strategy, will remove the possible potential elements of discontinuity -- that is, clear the path for successful specific solutions which will ensure our further development under the conditions of progress and stability. What is involved in this connection is not a stage of how to survive but a stage of how to further progress both socially and materially.

For this reason radical changes are needed in the sphere of economic life. We must radically reexamine our development policy and the mechanism of the economic system and adapt it to our goals of social and material development under the conditions of stability. We must free the distribution of the national income from excessive strains by reducing all forms of spending and especially investment, general and budget spending and we must carry out the redistribution of the national income so that it benefits the workers to a greater extent. And finally we must carry out a redistribution of the national income with regards to the factors responsible for spending. We must orient ourselves to export as much as possible. We must ensure the necessary funds for regular repayment of debts. We must eliminate the parallel functioning of two or more currencies as a means of payment and defend a stable national currency. And we must bring greater urgency to opening up the prospects for employing youth.

We must note with regret that the task -- set long ago -- of enabling associated labor to control the entire surplus value is being fulfilled alarmingly slowly. For this reason we cannot pull ourselves out of the statist shell with regard to the entire social reproduction, the statist shell which hinders and even prevents a further development of socialist self-management.

The potency of the contradictions between socialist self-management as the basic production relationship and statism, bourgeois society values and group property relations is therefore increasing. These contradictions cannot be resolved in a flash, but they can certainly be resolved in the most radical ways by creating the conditions for the working people as commodity producers so that they may control and manage the entire surplus value as soon as possible.

This is the only guarantee that we will impart new impulses to society as a whole and give it additional energy through autogenesis of socialist self-management in all spheres of social life. The stimulation of a constant aggravation of internal contradictions so far has been manifested in a paradoxical situation: The League of Communists struggle with all its political actions for setting up the foundations of self-management, but constantly meets assaults of bureaucratic statist forces and relations.

It is high time that with all our resolve we implement the task that the workers class comes to the front of the political stage in society, and that we free it of all forms of mediation. We cannot do this without making economic laws operate freeely, and at the same time ensuring efficient planning, self-managing agreements and social accords as a form of expressing the social interests and not group property and other partial interests.

In all this we have no reason to befog the truth for ourselves, to sow illusions in society that we will solve the problems of healing our economy easily. When we say that it is a long-term task, we tell the truth. It is a truth that demands fresh sacrifices, fresh endeavors, a fresh mobilization of all available material and social forces, particularly since it is our basic orientation to achieve this task by our own forces.

Our choice of the strategy of our own forces entails international consequences. We cannot allow anybody to benefit from our economic difficulties and exert any pressure on us. We are convinced of our ability and our will to repulse any possible and potential pressures, as we have done from our liberation until the present time when we met such and similar difficulties.

On the way of emerging from the contradictions in which we have landed, we must also strengthen our ideological program and eliminate all the incrustations that oppose it. Here I primarily have in mind the retreat of our class, proleterian ideology before the assaults of the bourgeois one with all its phenomenal forms: the creation of a consumer climate, various forms of corruption, favoritism, embezzlement, theft, abuses and irresponsibility. We must resolutely oppose the ideology of nationalism in all its forms, as well as unitarianism. Collusion between bureaucracy and technocracy is again rearing its head. Communist ideology is burdened more and more by voluntarism. It sees society as it should be and not as it is. Private property and group property awareness is growing. Egotism and national romanticism oppose class and workers solidarity. The disintegration of the workers class is becoming legitimate because of national autarkic interests.

Our ideological situation is characterized by a high level of exclusiveness. All the problems of life are being politicized and ideologized, which reduces the scope of creative life. Instead of a thorough well-argued discussion about the problems that we meet, a tendency exists to claim a monopoly on truth, and this causes negative political and economic consequences, such as a striving for monopoly, leadership, paternalism and the like.

The truth cannot be anybody's property. Exclusiveness and discussions based on absolute categories are very (?harmful) among us and beyond, for they do not lead to a democratic harmonization of the pluralism of self-managing interests by social structure, but merely introduce antagonism and disintegration.

It is therefore necessary that we, the communists, should strive as energetically as possible for a creative political, ideological and spiritual atmosphere. We must get used to different views resulting from various interests and conditions in the development process and from their confrontation. We must create a tolerant political culture of dialogue, so that in a society of a pluralism of self-managing interest these interests may be freely expressed and democratically harmonized.

We are dutybound to free people so that they may freely express their socialist self-managing strivings, interests and hopes, and so that they may have their own opinions and own conscience. The building of our society is not helped by ignorant improvisations about essential problems or (?vacillations) about them. Society requires solutions which lead to a synthesis and which make it homogeneous in all cells of the social structure. We must free people from feelings of uncertainty and insecurity. We must strengthen the trust in us, the communists, that we will do everything to emerge from the present difficulties and to open up new horizons for our future, and that we can do it and know how to do it.

Of course this touches the essence of the League of Communists. It demands that sectarianism be pushed away and that we open up toward all other socialist and self-managing forces. It demands an equal dialogue with them within the self-managing organs and the SAWP as the front of all socialist self-managing forces in the country.

The communists of the Socialist Republic of Serbia have had and will have tremendous additional work to square accounts with the counterrevolution in Kosovo. The integrity of our country has been attacked. Our self-managing, democratic socialist alternative has been attacked. Our brotherhood and unity, our togetherness have been attacked. Therefore this is not only your task, but a task of all of communists in Yugoslavia.

Of course, special responsibility in this respect is attached to the communists in Kosovo -- Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins and others. The strengthening of the unity and togetherness in the Socialist Republic of Serbia is also of historical interest to all our country. They are based on a consistent implementation of the existing constitutional premises, a consistent implementation of the constitutional functions of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the constitutions of the socialist autonomous provinces as constructive factors in our Yugoslav Federation.

The strengthening of unity and togetherness in the Socialist Republic of Serbia contributes and will contribute to the stability of our federation which -- as we have done up to now -- we will continue to build as a socialist and self-managing community of equal peoples and nationalities. It is often pointed out that the League of Communists lacks a practical approach to solving the problems of our development. We cannot simply deny it. But it is also true that verbalism and pure practicism are present and noticeable in our life. An atmosphere is created in which we deliberate too much and act practically less. But it must also be admitted that our work more and more lacks theoretical study also. The theoretical elaboration and a more thorough examination of the tendencies and contradictions which we encounter and which we will continue to encounter in future are also lagging. Practical solutions are deeply dependent on the results of the theoretical recognition of our own contradictions. Without this, the practical measures turn into a hollow ideology which obfuscates the dialectic of the social processes themselves. We can strengthen confidence if we unite theoretical study and practical activity into a unified (?activity). What is needed for this purpose are clear and realistic goals and a sense of the need that, in reality, the battles must be won every day with regard to the concrete issues and the tasks for which we strive.

In the period in which we live, there is no longer the leader of the revolution, Comrade Tito, and we no longer have Kardelj. We live in the period when all the ominous conjectures about our future have not come true. The fact that the ominous conjectures about our future by the domestic and foreign enemy forces have not materialized does not imply that these forces have renounced their intentions. The assault, its organized character and the diversity of the ideological and political goals indicate to us that what is involved in this connection is a long-term struggle, because this is a question of the vital interests of every honest individual, worker, peasant or intellectual, of every individual nation and nationality and of all generations. Our political line must take this into consideration and must necessarily adapt our strategic and tactical political, economic, ideological and propaganda actions. We have no reason for any defensive attitude. There is no reason for us Communists to withdraw because we offer the socialist, self-managing, democratic and communist alternative of life.

This is also the answer to the question why, despite the difficulties of this stage yesterday and today, all our working people, all peoples and nationalities support the League of Communists, support it and expect it to solve the acute difficulties which we are encountering. We will not betray this trust just as we have not betrayed it up to now because we possess the necessary strength, will and knowledge.

Comrade delegates: Our foreign policy and communication with the world are built on firm and lasting foundations. There are no historical or concrete factors which would influence us to change our country's foreign policy. As a result of its nonaligned policy under Comrade Tito's leadership, Yugoslavia has won such an international reputation and such a possibility for influencing the political trends in the world which considerably exceed our material and other possibilities. I do not wish to say by this that, in connection with the elaboration of the political line of the 12th LCY Congress, there are no problems in this domain which would deserve our attention. The increasing contradictions among the nonaligned countries require a comprehensive study of their causes, and the political action to successfully solve them must be based on the knowledge acquired through such a study.

In our foreign political strategy, we continue to be open toward the world which influences us just as we influence it. Our strength is in this, and because of this -- instead of concerning ourselves with forecasts of our future -- we are resolved to (?concentrate) our forces to successfully fulfill our own goals.

The unity of the League of Communists, the trust of the workers class and of the peoples and nationalities, and the determination and ability of the League of Communists to persevere, together with other socialist, democratic and progressively oriented forces, in fulfilling our goals are a reliable guarantee of our future. Naturally, we also will not be idle with regard to preparing the people for the country's defense. The all-people's defense and social self-protection and the armed forces of the Yugoslav People's Army are also valuable factors of our independence and our integrity.

Of course, to successfully implement our political line, we must be consistent, stable and realistic in our everyday actions. In the future also, we will continue to live stretched between what we want and what is possible. This means that we must always find the proper measure between what we want to achieve and what is possible. Being linked to the historical role, name and work of the LCY president, Comrade Tito, the LCY has won an important place in the total development of our country and has greatly raised the reputation of Socialist Yugoslavia and of the LCY in the world, in the workers movement and in the struggle for peace, social progress and socialism. Neither the natural disasters [elementarne nepogode] of irredentism or those of nationalism and unitarianism will move this community of fraternal peoples and nationalities from this basic stand. It also will not be caught by any fishing in uncertainty because, if they have not yet reached the highest levels of freedom, our people are advancing along the road leading to it, to the liberation of man, and they seek and find their (?true identity) in our socialist self-managing Federal Yugoslavia.

Expressing once again to you the best wishes of the LCY Central Committee for the successful work and conclusion of the Ninth Congress of the League of Communists of Serbia, allow me to wish the communists and working people of the Socialist Republic of Serbia new successes and achievements in their development, and thereby also the achievements in the development of our SFRY. Thank you. [applause]

GREEK PRIME MINISTER CONTINUES TALKS IN BELGRADE

Meeting With Planinc

LD271530 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1330 GMT 27 May 82

[Text] Belgrade, 27 May (TANJUG) -- Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council, and Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou resumed their talks this morning. They discussed some international issues with the main attention being paid to the Balkans and the atmosphere and relations among the countries of this region. In a very direct and open exchange of views they both assessed that the Balkan Peninsula is not and cannot be an area isolated from other parts of Europe and the world, and therefore what takes place on the old continent and farther afield in the world is also reflected on mutual relations among Balkan countries.

Milka Planinc and Andreas Papandreou confirmed the resolve of their governments to continue to contribute, together with all Balkan countries, to the consolidation and expansion of bilateral and multilateral cooperation, to back and promote actively all the initiatives and activities aimed at strengthening stability, peace and security in the Balkans and in the southeastern region of Europe.

They also discussed the need for a peaceful solution of the Cyprus crisis, on which the two countries have practically identical views. Yugoslavia and Greece believe that the just solution of the Cyprus problem is possible only with the withdrawal of foreign troops, and respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty, indpendence and non-alignment of this island country in line with the well-known UN attitudes on this issue, including continuation of the intercommunal Cyprus dialogue.

The premiers of the two friendly neighboring countries then informed one another of the topical internal development problems of Yugoslavia and Greece. Milka Planinc acquainted her distinguished guest with the basic directions of our stabilization policy, economic relations with other countries and with the further development and consolidation of the self-managing delegate system.

She pointed out in this context the continuity of Tito's policy which our country carries on consistently.

Andreas Papandreou spoke in detail about the needs and directions of Greece's further economic development, and about the significance which Greece attaches to the stabilization of circumstances and consolidation of security in the inner and broader region of the Balkan Peninsula in light of the influence of events on Greece's development.

Planinc and Papandreou paid particular attention to Yugoslav-Greek cooperation, particularly in the economic sphere. Both sides noted that the entire volume of relations in this sphere does not correspond either to the needs, opportunities or the wishes of the two countries. It is necessary for these relations to broaden and develop, not only through the forms of the classical exchange of goods, but also through so-called higher quality forms such as specialization, industrial cooperation, Yugoslav participation in Greek development projects, and joint ventures on third markets. Full agreement was reached on developing these relations. More concrete details of these relations will be worked out by the interministerial commission for economic cooperation of the two countries which will meet in the near future.

Discussions With Dragosavac

LD271824 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1414 GMT 27 May 82

[Text] Belgrade, 27 May (TANJUG) -- Dr Dusan Dragosavac, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, had talks today with Andreas Papandreou, leader of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement [PASOK] and prime minister of the Hellenic Republic, who is visiting our country at the invitation of the Federal Executive Council.

Vlado Janzic, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and Yoannis Kharalambopoulos, Greek minister of foreign affairs, took part in the conversation.

During the conversation, which took place in an atmosphere of openness, mutual understanding and friendship, the two sides exchanged views on a number of topical issues of the international situation as well as the development of bilateral cooperation between the LCY and PASOK.

Dusan Dragosavac briefed Papandreou on the basic directions of the LCY's activity in the development of the socioeconomic and political system of self-management and preparations for the 12th LCY Congress and on the LCY's activity on the international scene.

Papandreou spoke about the political situation and the latest developments in Greece and about PASOK's activities in carrying out socioeconomic reforms following the victory in the parliamentary elections last year.

During the exchange of views on international questions it was noted that the present devlopment of international relations is characterized by very high tension, complex processes and great contradictions.

The two sides stressed the impermissibility of interference in other countries' internal affairs and advocated settling unsolved problems by peaceful means. They stressed that the LCY and PASOK are striving to overcome the policy of bloc division to terminate the arms race and to begin the real process of disarmament. In this connection they stressed that universal detente was the only way to consolidate peace, establish international cooperation and security on an equal footing in Europe and the world, and create the favorable conditions for strengthening the activity of the progressive democratic forces. They also discussed the situation in the Mediterranean area, stressing the need for the broader involvement of all the progressive and democratic forces in the struggle to transform the Mediterranean into a zone of peace, security and international cooperation on an equal footing and without any interference from outside.

During their meeting Dragosavac and Papandreou exchanged views on the situation and relations in the workers movement and other progressive movements in the world. Both sides reaffirmed the importance of strict respect for the principle of independence and equality of every party, noninterference and respect for the inalienable right to the free and independent choice of paths, and the progressive social transformation in keeping with the specific national conditions in which every party is active in promoting cooperation between workers' parties all the progressive parties and movements and all the progressive forces.

The two sides favorably appraised the present level of development of cooperation between the LCY and PASOK and agreed that this cooperation represents a significant contribution to friendly relations between Yugoslavia and Greece.

Received by Stambolic

LD272218 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2104 GMT 27 May 82

[Text] Belgrade, 27 May (TANJUG) -- Petar Stambolic, president of the SFRY Presidency, this evening received at the White Palace Andreas Papandreou, prime minister of the Hellenic Republic. In an exceptionally warm and cordial atmosphere they carried out an exchange of views on the development of bilateral relations and on a number of international issues which are at the center of attention of Yugoslavia and Greece. The talks were attended by Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council; Lazar Mojsov, federal secretary for foreign afffairs; Yoannis Kharalambopoulos, Greek minister of foreign affairs; the ambassadors of Yugoslavia and Greece in Athens and Belgrade, Trajko Trajkovski and Dhimitrios Makris, respectively; as well as other high-ranking officials of the SFRY Presidency and of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs.

In examining the development of the traditionally very close bilateral relations the view was expressed, according to reports, that there are broad possibilities for promoting new forms of cooperation at the political, economic, cultural and all other levels. In this connection both sides stressed the need to (?intensify) economic cooperation which, it was stated, can help the two countries face more successfully the present international economic relations and the difficulties arising in this sphere. Both sides stressed that the mutual cooperation and understanding between Yugoslavia and Greece can serve as an example and contribution to cooperation and understanding among the countries in the Balkans.

Also discussed was the socio-economic development of Yugoslavia and Greece and the preoccupations of the countries in these spheres. In this connection Prime Minister Papandreou showed great interest in the Yugoslav system of self-management. President of the Presidency Stambolic talked at greater length about the continuity of the Yugoslav policy both at the internal and foreign political levels.

In the examination of international questions, mutual concern was expressed over the present exacerbated international relations in which connection expression was given to the great similarity of the two countries' views regarding the basic causes of this situation and the efforts which the entire international community should make, particularly in stopping the arms race.

In this connection the significance was also stressed which Yugoslavia and Greece attach to the forthcoming special session of the UN General Assembly devoted to these problems. The present arms race, both nuclear as well as conventional arms, in addition to being a threat to peace, also represents an attempt to retain the state of domination by great powers and blocs in international relations.

Due to all this, the need was stressed to mobilize the entire international community to stop the present dangerous development in the world which, by deepening political and economic crises, leads to a general cataclysm.

In discussing the worsening situation in Europe due to intensified bloc rivalries, (?the significance) of regional cooperation was also stressed with the aim of overcoming this situation. In this context the significance of intra-Balkan cooperation in various spheres was emphasized and the concern voiced about the situation in the Mediterranean due to the constant concentration of military troops of the two blocs and the existence of numerous hotbeds of crisis in this area or in its vicinity.

Peter Stambolic, president of the SFRY Presidency, then presented the Yugoslav views on the role and activity of the nonaligned countries in the present exacerbated international trends. He stressed that the policy and Movement of Nonalignment are gaining in significance because they represent a real alternative to the present unfavorable trends in the world which increasingly expects this policy to contribute to overcoming tension and to consolidating the universality of detente. In this context, Stambolic spoke also of the seventh summit and stressed the need for an end to the Iranian-Iraqi war, for the peaceful solution of the dispute between these two countries, as well as for creating conditions for the successful preparation of the seventh summit of the nonaligned. Prime Minister Papandreou stressed that although Greece is not a nonaligned country, it attaches exceptional significance to the principles and policy of nonalignment. At the end of this very meaningful and friendly talk the significance of a continuous dialogue between Yugoslavia and Greece at all levels was stressed, as was the need that it should be continued even more intensively in the future.

On behalf of the SFRY Presidency and on his own behalf, Peter Stambolic sent cordial greetings to President of the Hellenic Republic Karamanlis. Voicing his gratitude, Prime Minister Papandreou invited President of the SFRY Presidency Stambolic to visit Greece.

Concluding this conversation which, just as Prime Minister Papandreou's earlier meetings since his arrival in Belgrade yesterday, is assessed in the circles of the two delegations chiefly in superlatives, Peter Stambolic asked Prime Minister Papandreou and his associates to an informal dinner during which the talks were continued for several more hours.

FEDERAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL DISCUSSES FUEL SUPPLIES

LD272244 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1338 GMT 27 May 82

[Excerpts] 27 May (TANJUG) -- Belgrade: The Federal Executive Council at its session today chaired by Zvone Dragan discussed supplying the market with oil, oil derivatives and cooking coal and assessed it as unfavorable. In the first 4 months of the year, 2.5 million tons of crude oil should have been imported from the convertible currency area, but only 1.37 million tons, or 54 percent of the amount planned, were purchased. The council, therefore, points out the negative consequences which could arise should relevant measures aimed at improving the supply of the market with oil and oil derivatives not be taken immediately. The Federal Executive Council decided that the National Bank of Yugoslavia should immediately issue guarantees for the import of crude oil, oil derivates and cooking coal worth $12 million and 36,000 tons of kerosene as invisaged by the energy balance sheet.

The Federal Executive Council charged the relevant federal organs to supplement as early as possible existing measures and to propose possible new measures for the more efficient application of the law to ensure foreign exchange resources to pay for oil imports. A coordination committee has also been formed which would resolve more effeciently the topical difficulties in supplying the market with energy fuel and in particular with oil and oil derivatives. Senior officials of the key economic federal departments, as well as of some other organs and organizations, would also be involved in the work of this body.

The council also adopted the report on the course of the work on measures to maintain and improve the foreign exchange liquidity of individual banks and of the country as a whole, and decided that immediate measures must be taken to speed up the influx of foreign exchange from the already concluded international credits, in particular from the IBRD, the European Investment Bank and some other credit arrangements.

ADMIRAL MAMULA CHAIRS MILITARY COUNCIL SESSION

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[Text] Belgrade, 27 May (TANJUG) -- A session of the Military Council of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense was held in Belgrade today under the chairmanship of Adm Branko Mamula, federal secretary of national defense. The council discussed the proposed doctrinal document "The Strategy of the Armed Struggle." Furthermore, topical issues and the results of implementing the economic stabilization policy in units and institutions of the Yugoslav People's Army and some other issues in the sphere of implementing the concept of all-people's defense and social self-protection were discussed.

LCY BASIC ORGANIZATIONS DISSOLVED IN SARAJEVO

AU261829 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 May 82 p 3

[Text] Sarajevo, 23 May (TANJUG) -- At its third session, the communal committee of the Stari Grad [Old Town] in Sarajevo adopted the decision on dissolving the basic organizations of the League of Communists in the Ogrevtrans and Gradja basic organizations of associated labor and in the work community of common affairs of the Unipromet work organization.

The Stari Grad communal committee adopted this decision because, despite numerous suggestions, proposals and direct contacts between the communal committee and each of the three basic organizations of the League of Communists, stagnation in the development of socialist self-managing relations, occurrences of technobureaucratism, private ownership and group ownership behavior and relations have not been removed in the three collectives. On the contrary, communists acted in a defensive manner, from the position of protecting their personal interests, concealment, of taking the line of not offending anyone and "of turning their heads" away from problems.

In addition, the communal committee of the League of Communists of Stari Grad assesses that it will soon be possible to form new basic organizations of the League of Communists from a number of communists and from those who were not members of the LCY because of the situation in the basic organizations of the League of Communists, and that it will be possible to ensure the influence of the League of Communists in bringing self-managing relations and processes in these collectives to life.

The process of determining the individual ideopolitical responsibility of the members of the League of Communists in these three basic organizations of the League of Communists in the Unipromet work organization is underway.

As suppliers of fuel and building materials, the Ogrevtrans and Gradja basic organizations of associated labor are of special social interest for the city of Sarajevo, and thus their weaknesses in work also influence the mood of the working people and citizens.

The communal committee of the League of Communists of Stari Grad-Sarajevo has initiated the activity of all subjective factors on removing weaknesses and on overcoming the current situation and relations, naturally, primarily of the basic organizations of the League of Communists in their circles which should have created the leading ideopolitical role in these processes.

Assessing that the basic organizations of the League of Communists with their nonself-critical and opportunist attitude enable, and even encourage, the existing situation and relations to continue to persist, and that as such they do not ensure the basic ideopolitical unity of positions and actions on the adopted decisions of the League of Communists, the LCY program and the statutes of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the LCY, the communal committee of the League of Communists of Stari Grad adopted the decision on dissolving them.